

1602. a. 16.

**The history
OF TVVO THE MOST
noble Capytaynes of the worlde,
Anniball and Scipio, of their dy-
uers batayles and victoires, exce-
dyng profitabile to reade, gathered
and translated into English outes
of Titus Linius, and other au-
thoures, by Antonys
Cope Esquier.**

**Impyned at London in Fleet
streene neare to Sainct Dunstons
Churche by Thomas
Marthe.**

**Anno Domini.
1561.**

T H O. Berthelet on this historie.

No sooner desireth sor to rede
Martiall proweste, feates of chualry
That may him profite at time of nede
Let him in hand take this hystorye,
That sheweth the sleyghtes & policy
The wily traynes of witte anniball,
The craftie deceites, ful ofte wherby
He gaue his puissant enemis a fal.

COf worthy stomacke, and courage valiant,
Of noble herte, and manly enterpryse,
Of gentelnesse, of mynde sure and constaunt,
Of gouernaunce prudent, ware, and wise,
Shal fynde accordyng vnto hys devise
This prince Scipio, this mighty Romayne,
Whych all son pleasure cuer dyd dysprise.
In continence a lord and soueraygne.

CLo thus may men playnely here behold,
That wyly witte, powder, guyle, nor polycie,
Could Hannibal cuer styl bpholde,
But that by Scipios worthy chualrye.
Hys manhode, vertue, and dedes knyghtly
He was subdued, there is no more to sayne,
And yet to speake, as trouth wyl verify,
There was never found a better capptayne.



CTo the most Mighty and victoriouſe Prince, and his moſte redoubted ſouveraine Loide, Henrye the viii. by the grace of God kynge of Englaunde Fraunce and Irelande, defendor of the faith, and of the Church of Englaund and alſo of Irelande in earth the ſupreme head: lyþ ryghte humble ſubiect and ſeruaunt Anthonay Cope, prayeth and wylleth all honoure and perfecte felycytic.

Hat all humayne actes oughte to be measured by time, moſte excellent prince, and my moſte redoubted ſouveraine loide, we are ſufficiently taught by nature, by reaſon, by learning, and by expeſience.

The firſt is declared by the ordynate course of the heauens, and the ſterres, as wel ſixed as alſo the planettes mouable, in the ſame heauens placed, wyth theyȝ ſunday dispoſitions: by whose diuers operacions, the earth bringeth forth her fruites of all kindes in due ſeafon, whyche fyſte grow to a rypenesse, and than foloweth the decaie of the ſame. So that all things vary accordyng to the time: Now pleſant ſummer, then withered winter. Now plentifull aboundinge of thinges, an other time baraine ſcarcitte. Reaſon

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Son also affirmeth the same: in so much that wylc Philosophers put , that the generacion of one thing is the corrupcion of an other : and that nothyng maye longe endure in one state, but eyther increaseth, or is impeirced . Of learnynge we haue auctorites mansifold. Amonge others Salomon saith, that all thynges haue tyme . There is (sayeth he) tyme of peace, and tyme of warre: tyme to be myrc, and tyme to be sadde. By experiance also it is manifest, that who so doeth not take tyme in tyme, & according thereto temper dispose and conueigh all hys procedinges, shall no more bryng them to effecte, with prosperous successe , than the songe shalbe allowed, wherof the singers kepe not there true tyme , but some doe runne awaie therewith, makinge ouer much hast, wylle some other dragge comminge slowlye after. The mutabilite of tyme is so varyable , it passeth awaie so swifly, & at length sheweth suche violence that old poetes willing to descriue tyme lively according to the very property ther of, deoे set it forth in the figure of a man hauyng wynges, wherwith to fligh, and hauing also a great sith in his hands

to

The preface.

to moue or cut downe al thinges in theyz appoynted seasons And as it devoureth and consumeth all thynges by longe processe: even so it manysteth all thynges be they never so hydden and secrete. Wherefore Veruyc is called the daughter of tyme. He hathc also a syster called Occasyon, whome the sayde sage poetes (vnder whose wordes , as vnder a veyle are hydden manye depe mysteryes) wyllyng to descryne, doe seine to haue wynges on hir fete to declare therby her swiftpassyng awaie. And also they saygne hir to haue all hir heare growing & hanging long bowne on the fore part of hir heade, the hinder parte beyng smoth, bare , and halde, signifiyng therby, that as she commeth toward a man he may take lure hold of hir, by hir long heares: But in case he mysse to take than his hold, suffryng hym to passe by hym , than is there no holds to be taken of hir behynde , but that shee runneth away without recouery. There ts also toigned vnto hyz a compaignon called Repentance, whych is nothyng so lyghte of foote as is the other, whom occasyon after hir escape from a man , leaweth behynde hir, to kepe hym company.

A. vi.

W. Herberg

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Wherby is mente, that if occasion bee
not taken, whan shée offereth hir selfe
to anye man: the partie that refuseth hir
offer, shal after not ceasse, during his life
to forthynke his follye, in suffryng hys
departure. Wherfore sens it is apparent
that the obeyng to tyme is so necessarye,
whā I behold the manisold insurles doen
to your maiestee, and to your subiectes of
this your realme, by your unnatural and
unkind enemies on sydʒy parties, divers
and many waies, which ye haue long suf-
fred, and neuerthelesse dayly they are re-
newed: it is manifest & euident, that your
higheſſe is dyuen to geat by the ſwordes
that, whiche by foſte is deteyned from
you, and with power to reuenge wron-
ges brought of malice and vntreth, one-
leſſe ye ſhould be thought, not to regard
the hono ure due to the impervall maie-
ſtie of ſo highe a p̄ſſee, wheres Halomon
in his booke entiteld Ecclesiastes, upon
conſideration (as I ſuppoſe) of ſuche lyke
matter as this, ſaith: There is tyme to
loue, and tyme to hate, time of peace, and
tyme of warre: whyche ſentence the
ſayde wyſe man, endued by god wyth ſa-
ppence, would never haue leſte unto vs,

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If war had not in ſome caſe ben both laſ-
ful and expedient. Wherfore wel ponde-
ryng the tyme of war to be noſo in hand,
as a thinge ſo muſe he defull for many
conſideracions, I (for my poore parte)
thought, that I ſhould doe, not onelye to
youre hyghneſſe acceptable ſervice, but
also to all noble men, and gentlemen of
the realme greate pleasure and commo-
ditie, if gathering togither out of Titus
Liuſs, and other auſtors, the kyues, the
policies, and the marcial actes of two the
moſte woꝝthie Capitaines, of the two
moſte renoumed empires of the worlde,
that is to ſaye, of Anniball of Carthage,
and Scipio of Rome, I woule bryng
the ſame into our eniglyſhe tong: where
by, beside the pleasaunte beſtowynge of
tyme, in the readyng therof, me alſo may
learne bothe to dooꝝ dyspleaſure to they
ennemis, and to auoyde the craftye and
daungerous baſtes, whyche ſhalbe layde
for them. The one of theſe captyains, af-
ter manye countreis of Spaine broughte
vnder ſubiection, to ſeke honoure, and to
exercise him ſelue, with his men, in ſea-
tes of warre, paſſed the terrible moun-
taines to enter into Italy through many

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riallous freights and vnknowen passa-
ges, there vexinge and spoylng the coun-
try wþt continuall warre by the space
of. xvi. yeres. During whiche time he had
many noble victories sleynge many Ro-
mane legions with their valiant capi-
taines. The other, that is to wete, Scipi-
o the Romaine consull, beinge a man of
no leße courage then his enemy, leauing
him wþt his power in Italy sayled ouer
into Africa, where vanquishyng many
friens of the Carthaginenses, at the last
brought Carthage to such extremity that
the princes therof were dryuen (for they
onelye refuge) to call Anniball home a-
gaine to succour them: where in battayle
soze foughten, Scipio ouercame Hanni-
ball and all hys power, put him to flight
& made the empire of Carthage to be un-
der tribute to rome. The one of these ca-
pitaines was crafty, politike, peynfull, &
hardy, & by subtyll traynes wrought hys
ennemis muche dyspleasure: The other
was wyse, chaste, liberall, & valiant: & by
his vertuous courage, myred wþt tem-
perance, raysed vp the banner of fame &
honor of rome whch before was brought
low, and almost to utter desolacyon. And

as

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as these notable prynces, with manye oþ
ther men of noble hertes, haue hereto-
fore trauayled, to seeke honourable re-
nowne: euен so, many learned men, wyl-
lynge to auaunce them to theyr desyres,
haue in wryting set forth theyr noble ac-
tes, to theyr immortal fame, & to the com-
fort of all that shal here oþ rede the same.
þea the pinters haue not forgotten noþ
omitted on their partes, to set forthe be-
foze mennes eyes, theyr noble actes,
therby to stiere and to enkendle the her-
tes and myndes of the beholders. For
who is he, that doeth not muche rejoyce,
in beholding Hercules peinted on a wal
clothed in a Lyons skinne, by his myghty
hande spoyled, and drawing after hym
Cerberus that hell hounde, wþt. iii. hy-
dous heddes, whom he had brought from
the dominyon of Pluto? Who doeth not
rejoyce to heare the conquesse of the gol-
den flice, by Jason in the Isle of Colchos?
Thus it appeareth, that who so doen
vertuously embrase honorable trauaille,
deserue to haue immortal fame. Emong
whiche moste victorious conquerours,
although your mosste excellente malefyce
maye without all controversy oþ doubt
me²

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most worthly chalenge & take the chiefe place, yet would not I, before your maiesties owne face, offer my selfe to be a settier out therof, onelies the expresse veritye of your graces procedinges dyd so manifesterly publishe and declare the same, that I maye not by my so doynge possibly encurre any maner suspision of flattery, or adulacion, as by comparinge the noble dedes of the forenamed great pryncis, vnto your maste worthy actes, shall appere manifest. Hanniball, by the helpe of the frenchmen, passed the mountaines, & after in Italy fought thre oþ sower notable battailes, to the greate ruine of the Romaynes: but they were achieved rather by crafty sleightes and policies, than by strength. In them also he had the assured aide of the frenchmen. The citie of Tarrent he wanne by treason. Capua, & many other cities, wylligly yelded vnto him whose affeunce after, was muche bys auancement. On the other part, Scipio arriuing in Affrica, founde there kyng Massanissa hys olde frende, by whose helpe, valiantnesse, and conduite, he prouayled against the Carthaginenses, and subdued king Syphax. These thinges see-

The preface.

med than to men so notable, that among others, my chiefe authour Titus Lius to auance the resumme of theym, wrotes thereof a noble and goodly historye. But who so beholdeth the conduyte of yours graces warres, in Spayne, Fraunce, Britayne, & scotland, & in euerie of these moxe then ones oþ twise achieved without the ayde of any foraine prince, the daungerous and strong cities and castelles scaled, the power of Fraunce in one daye ouerthrown: And aboute the same tyme a like victorye of scottes inuadyng thy realme, with they kyng slaine in playne syelde: shall synde the triumph thereof muche moxe worthy of gloze, than anye that euer Lius wrotes vpon. For it is not vñknownen, that thynges nowe bee muche harder to bee atchiued, than they were in those dayes: the artillarie more perillous, the armour more sure, and the castels more strong: In so muche that the winning of Tirwin oþ Morlacie, is much more to bee esteemed, than thewynnyng of Capua oþ Carthage. I wil omitt to reherse, that the emperoure Maximilian, hearynge the fame of youre hyghnesse power and excellencye, desired to be

The preface.

most worthlye chalenge & take the chiefe place, yet would not I, before your maiesties owne face, offer my selfe to be a sett er out therof, oneles the expresse veritye of your graces procedinges dyd so manifestly publishe and declare the same, that I maye not by my so dognge possibly encurre any maner suspiccion of flattery, or adulacion, as by comparinge the noble dedes of the forenamed great princi, vnto your moste worthy actes, shall appere manifest. Hanniball, by the helpe of the frenchmen, passed the mountaines, & after in Italy sought thre oþ sower notable battailes, to the greate ruine of the Romaynes: but they were achieved rather by crafty sleightes and policies, than by strength. In them also he had the assured aide of the frenchmen. The citie of Tarrent he wanne by treason. Capua, & many other cities, wylligly yelded vnto him whose affeunce after, was muche by his auancement. On the other part, Scipio arriuing in Affrica, founde there kyng Massanissa hys olde frende, by whose helpe, valiantnesse, and condicte, he preyuled against the Carthaginenses, and subdued king Syphax. These thinges see med.

The preface.

med than to men so notable, that among others, my chiese authour Titus Luius to auance the rensume of theym, wrotes therof a noble and goodly historye. But who so beholdeth the condicte of yours gracie warres, in Spayne, Fraunce, Britayne, & scotland, & in euerie of these more then ones oþ twise achieued without the ayde of any foraine prince, the daungerous and strong cities and castelles scaled, the power of Fraunce in one daye ouerthowen: And abouthe the same tyme a like victorye of scottes inuadyng thys realme, with theyr kyng slaine in playne syelde: shall synde the triumph thereof muche more worthy of glorie, than anye that euer Luius wrotes vpon. For it is not unknownen, that thynges nowe bee muche harder to bee atchiued, than they were in those dayes: the artillarye more perillous, the armour more sure, and the castells more strong: In so muche that the winning of Tirwin oþ Morlacke, is much more to bee esteemed, than thewynnyng of Capua oþ Carthage. I wil omitt to reherse, that the emperoure Maximilian, hearynge the fame of youre hyghnesse power and excellencye, desired to be

The preafee.

of your maiestyes band, and vnder youre
vanee in the fynelde agaynde the frenche-
men. I wyl also leane to reherse the wise
and worthy conquest of the realme of Ire-
lande, wher of at thys presente youre
maiestey weareth the Diademe. Fyrtayn
wyl I tary to declare the sundry and most
lucky victories, that your hyghnes hathe
of late had agaynst the promise breakers
the double dealyng Sottes. Further-
more, partly for breuitie, and partly for
that the thyng beyng so lately doen, ney-
ther the bruite nor the memorie thereof
cannot but be so fresh, that it were much
superfluous here now to recite the same;
I haue thought best wholy to smitte the
long recital of your late mooste noble, po-
litike, and myghty conquest of Bollayne
never heretofore by any pryncipe subdued,
nor scarcely by anye appreched vnto, but
left as a thinge invincible, and therefore
called the mayden towne, the hystorye
whereof requireth the lengthe of a longe
volume, if it shal be fully cronicleid. But
sens of al others that euer were, Hercu-
les is accounted mooste worthy the
cowne of honorable prayse, as the chiefe
daunter of monstres: I wyll nowe
wyth

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Wyth his conquesstes compare your mooste
famous subduryng of the Romayne mon-
ster Hydra, whose heddes were so many,
and the less of them so pestylente: that it
is to vs thought, he could never (without
the greate assistance of the diuine power)
haue been subdued. Those hys heddes,
by the mooste circumspecte wysdonie and
prouidence of your hyghnes, be almoste
cleane cutte of, and mortifyed, the vena-
tious syng of ignorance plucked away,
and his power suppressed: so that the wal-
les of hys denne of ROME tremble be-
holdyng your cristial shydle of prudencie,
whiche conquesste I maye well call soo
much more worlbye of renome, than
those of Hercules, by how much the soule
of man is to be esterned abone the bodye,
or anye earthlye goddes. Hercules
onely delyuered countreys, from the bo-
dily veracion of monstres and tyrantes:
your maiestie doeth easse youre subiectes
both in body and goddes, but chiefely in
theyz soules, by the true knowlage of
god & his mooste holye worde. So that in
my herte I wylle Lintus to bee on lyue
againe, not doubtyng but he that toke
such peyne to deserue the actes of your in-
feriours,

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ferours, Hanniball and scipio, woulde
much more now traualle, to blow forthe
yours myghtye magnisfence and vertu-
ous enterprises with the loude trumpet
of immortall fame and memory. Further
more the actes of Hercules be mosse sette
forthe by poetes, who(as it is thoughte)
haue seined many thinges more than the
trueth was:but of youre higbnes actes,
that are our englishe Hercules, no man
dost oþ can doubte, they are so well kno-
wen, even of your enimies to their pey-
nes. Wherfore I truss, whan tyme shall
come, god wyl not faille to prouide an ex-
cellent cronicler, to set forth the most glo-
rious actes of your royall maiestye, that
are his very true championarewardynge
your worldly conquesstes here, with per-
petual renoume and glory, and after this
lise(which almighty god graunt for oure
benefite, to be very long)remuneratinge
your graces godly minde, intent, and tra-
uailes in his causes, with the inco-
ruptible crowne of immortalytie
and selycitee eternall bothe of
soule and bodye.

JY. 15

The table.



The description of Anniball, and
of hys fyrt exercise in war. ca. 1
Of Annibals fyrt warres and
victory. Ca. 2

Annibal besiegeth the Saguntines,
and how he was there sore
wounded. Ca. 3

The comyng of the Romaine ambassadours to
Anniball and Carthage, and what answere they
had of hym and them. Cap. 4.

How Sagunt was cruelly conquered. Cap. 5

How the Romaine ambassadours sent to Carthage,
and from thensc into Spaine sped. cap. 6

How Annibal renewing the war conducted his
army into France, to passe the mountauns. ca. 7

Howe Annibal passed the riuier of Rhodanus,
put the frenchmen to flight, refused to fight with
the consull of Rome, & with what words he cou-
raged his scaldiors to passe the mountauns. ca. 8

How and with what labour, peine, & excedyng
great daungier, Annibal & his armie passed ouer
the high mountauns & Alpes into Italy. cap. 9.

How bothe the armies of Rome and Carthage
approched, & the oration that, P. C. Scipio the
consul made to encorage his men to fight. cap. 10

With what examples and wordes Annibal ex-
horted hys soldiours to fight valiantly. ca. 11

How Scipio and Annibal met by chaunce, and
fought together, and how the consul was hurte,
and Annibal victour. Cap. 12.

Howe Annibal fought with Sempronius the
consul: and by what meanes he put the Romaynes
to flight. Cap. 13.

Annibal intendyng to take a certayne castel by
stelth, was encouerted by the counsul, wounded,
and put to the worse, and after a great slaughter

The table.

of the people he wonne Uicunias. And howe Cn. Scipio in Spayne ouerthrewe Hanno in battayle. Cap. 4.

How Anibal paised y daungerous fennes nere to the ryuer of Arnus, to the great losse of his men and cattell, where the fenny aere caused hym to lose one of hys eyes. And of the hast that Flaminius the consul maketh to geue him bataile. ca. 15

Of the battayle of Trasimenus, with the death of the counsull Flaminius, and many other Romaynes. Cap. 16

Howe Anniball by a crafty deceipte escaped the straites of Formiana, wherein he was enclosed by M. Fabius Maximus. Cap. 17

Cneius Scipio syghteth with Hasdruball and Himilco, on the sea vpon the costes of spaine dryueth them to lande, taketh and dystroyeth xxv shippes, with a greate number of the Carthaginenses. Cap. 18.

How Icedur, a spanyarde, by treason conueyed the pledges of spayne from the Carthaginenses, and deliuered them to the Romans. Cap. 19

Fabius beyng at Rome in dyspleasure, Minutius maister of the horsemen fighteth with Annibal, putteth hym to the worse, and therefore is made halfe rular of the hoste with Fabius, he syghteth with hym agayne, and is put to flighte, and rescued by Fabius. Cap. 20

Of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro consuls, and the oracion of M. Fabius Maximus to Paulus, before hys departing from Rome toward hys hoste. Cap. 21

Of the perillous battayle of Cannas, and the victorye that Anniball hadde there of the Romaynes. Cap. 22

How Annibal ordered his busines after the battayle

The table.

Tale, and how younge Scipio vsed hym selfe for the sauing of the commen welth. Ca. 23.

The oracion of the captiue prysoner made to the senate for theyr redempcion. Cap. 24.

The soore answere of T. Manilius Torquatus to the captiues oracion, wherein he dysswaded theyr redempcion. Cap. 25

How Pacuvius by crafte became chiefe rular of Capua, and of the yeldynge of that Citye to Anniball. Cap. 26

The newes that Mago brought to Carthage of Annibals victories in Italy, and the oracion of Hanno a senatour of Carthage made vnto the same. Ca. 27.

Of the battaille betwene Marcellus and Anniball before the citie of Nola, and of Annibals wintering in Capua, in delicat plesures, wherby he withdrew the hertes and courages of hys men from all war relyke facyon. Ca. 28

Of the long siege andwynning of Cassilium with the deathe and destruction of the counsull Posthamius & hys hoste in the wood of Litana by the crafte of the Frenchmen. Cap. 29.

Of the victory of the Scipios in spayne. ca. 30

The oracion of the sannites and the Hirpines to Annibal, desyryng his helpe agaynst the Romanes, with the order of Marcellus and Annibal aboue Nola. cap. 31

The exhortation of Annibal to his sauldours the battaille betwene hym and Marcellus, and the victories of the Scipios in spaine. Cap. 32

The oracion of Quintus Fabius Maximus, touchyng the election of the consuls in that daungerous season. Cap. 33.

The battaille betwene Hanno and Gracchus, wþt the reward and also the punishment awarde

The table.

¶ by Gracchus to certayne bondemen of his
hoste.

Cap. 34.

The citie of Sagunt in spaine, and Arpos in
Italy are wonne by the Romaynes, kynge Sp:
phar is become frende to the Romayns, and is o:
ue rcome in battayle by Massanissa.

Cap. 35.

Annibal through the treason of Nico and Ph:
lomenes, winneth the citie of Tarent.

ca. 36

Fulvius Flaccus the Romaine consul, wyn-
neth the campe of Hanno, sleeth & taketh a great
umber of men wyth a ryche praye. Mago sleeth
Titus Gracchus, and many Romans, through
the treason of Flavius a Lucan.

Cap. 37.

Centenius Penula, and Cneus Fulvius,
with theyz two armyes be discomfited and slaine
by Annibal in severall battayles.

Cap. 38

The citie of Capua is besieged by the two con-
sules, Annibal commeth to the succour of the ci-
tizens, grueth the consuls battayle, from thense
goeth to Romeward with his hoste, to the intent
thereby to drawe the consuls from the syege of
Capua.

Cap. 39

The oracio of Ultrius Ultrius concerning the yel-
ding of Capua, the Romans receyue the towne,
slea the senatours, & conuert the grounde thereto
to the profite of the city of Rome.

Cap. 40.

Marcellus winneth the citye of Syracusa in
Sicilia. P. Scipio & Cneus Scipio are slaine in
spayne, with a great number of Romans.

ca. 41

L. marcius is chosen capitaine of the Roman
armye, he maketh an oracion to his souldiours,
in one night and a day vanquisheth two hostes of
the Cartaginenses, winneth theyz campes, and
a greate praye.

Cap. 42.

How Asdrubal beyng enclosed in the stra-
tes besyde Mentissa escaped the daunger ther-

The table;

¶ by mockynge hys ennemys : and of the
chesyng of yonge P. Cor. Scipio to be capitaine
in Spayne.

Cap. 43.

The oration of scipio to his souldiours in spayne
after his comming thyther.

Ca. 44.

The city of newe Carthage in spayne is wonne
by the Romans, with a gret pray of golde, sil-
uer and all other necessaries for the warre, with
the pledges of the noble men & cities of Spayne.

Cap. 45

¶ Of the gentlenesse of Scipio in restoring a faire
yong virgin vndefyled to Luceus, unto whom
she was flaunced.

Cap. 46

Annibal sleeth Cn. Fulvius, wyth. viii. M.
Romayns beside Herdonea, Marcellus the con-
sull chaseth Annibal through Apulia, makynge
many syrmyshes wyth him.

Cap. 47.

Marcellus geueth battaille to Annibal, in which
his men be put to flyght, wherupon he maketh
them a sharpe oration, he reneweth the battayle
on the morrowe, putteth Annibal and his hoste
to flyght, wyth losse of many of his men.

ca. 48.

Howe Q. Fabius Maximus recouered front
Annibal the citye Tarent.

Cap. 49.

Scipio fyghteth with Asdruball besyde Herula
drueth hym from his hyll, sleeth. viii. lii. of hys
hoste, taketh viii. M. prysoners, wyth Massalus
newe to Massanissa, and a great praye in the
campe.

Cap. 50

Marcellus the consull is slayne by an crabush-
ment layd by annibal, Crispinus the other con-
sull, and Marcellus sonne be soze hurt.

Cap. 51.

Annibal craftely sendeth letters to Salapia,
sealed with Marcellus sygnet, asdruball passeth
the mountaynes with his army to mete his bro-
ther annibal.

Cap. 52

¶ Of the great battayle betwene asdruball and

The table.

The consules, in whyche asdruball was slayne,
Wyth. iiii. viii. men, besyde manye that were ta-
ken, wyth a great spoyle. cap. 53.

Scipio in dyuers battayles discomfith the
Carthaginenses, taketh Hanno on lyue, drijeth
asdrubal and Mago wyth al theyz power, clean
out of spayne. cap. 54.

M. Liutus, and C. Nero the consules, entre
the citye of Rome in triumph. A prayse of anni-
bals gouerning his armie. cap. 55.

Scipio and asdruball arryue both in one daye
in affrica, and be lodged both together in the pa-
lays of kyng Syphax. cap. 56.

Massanissa speaketh secretely wyth scipio, and
entreteth in leage wyth the Romans: Mago say-
deth into Italy to ioyne with annibal. cap. 57

Scipio cometh to Rome, and is crete one of
the consuls, he desyreteth to haue lycence, to sayle
into affrica wyth an armie. cap. 58.

The oration of fabius dissuadynge Scipio
from saylyng into affrica, and willyng hym to de-
fende Italye agaynst anniball. cap. 59

The oracion of scipio, wherin he aunswereþ
to fabius. cap. 60.

The complainge of the Locrenses to the sena-
tors, of the cruciſt gouernaunce of Qu. Planti-
nius. cap. 61.

Syphax marþeth asdruballes daughter
he wyþteth to scipio, willyng hym not to warre
in affrica, scipio arryueteth in affrica, to whom co-
meth Massanissa. Cap. 62.

Scipio in the nyghte burneth his ennemis
campes, putteth syphax and asdruball to flyghte,
wyth great losse of theyz men. cap. 63.

Syphax renneweth the battayle, where he is
taken prysoner, Massanissa taketh the citye of
Cytha

The table.

Cyrtha, and marieth kynge syphax wyfe. ca. 64

Syphax is brought to scipio, Massanissa sen-
deth to sophonisba poyson, whyche she wythout
feare druketh. cap. 65.

Lelyus wyth kyng syphax, and other prys-
ners cometh to Rome, Massanissa is made king
of Numidia. cap. 66.

Mago is discomfited, and wounded, of whiche
wounde he dyeth. Anniball beynge commaundered
of the senate to leaue Itale, sayleth towarde
Carthage, makyng great dole for his departyng

Cap. 67
Anniball arryueteth in affrica, desyreteth to speake
wyth scipio, who graunteth hym, and they mete
togither at a place appoynted. cap. 68.

The wittye oration that anniball made to sci-
pio, before the battayle betwene them. cap. 69

The aunswere of scipio to anniballes oration,
wyth the battayle had betwene theym, wherein
anniball was vanquished and put to flyght.

Cap. 70.
The condicions of peace graunted to the Car-
thaginenses by scipio, and the ratyfyenge of the
same by the senate. Cap. 71.

Scipio returneth to Rome with greate tri-
umphe and ioye of all the people. cap. 72

Anniball flyeth to antiochus kynge of sria,
antiochus moueth warre to the Romaines. L.
Cornelius scipio sayleth into asia, and banqu-
eth hym, graunteth hym peace vpon condi-
tions and retourneth to Rome. cap. 73.

Anniball flyeth to Prusias, the kinge of Ei-
chinia, and howe he ended his life. Cap. 74.

Thus endeth the Table.

THE DESCRIPTION
of Hannibal, and of his syrte
exercise in warre.
Cap. i.



A fter many greate and
perillous battayles foughc
betweene the Romaynes,
and the Carthaginenses,
at the laste a peace was
taken for certayne yeares : during which
time, Amilcar than capitayne of the ar-
mye of Cartilage, warred sive yeres con-
tinuallye in Africa, wyth the cityes and
countreyes adjoyning to Cartilage. And
from thens he passed the sea with his ar-
mye into Spaine : where he abode. ix. yea-
res, in whiche time he mervaulouslye in-
creased & enlarged the dominion of Car-
thage. This Amilcar was father to Han-
nibal, whych at his sayling into Spaine,
was but. ix. yeares of age : but yet his
heart and courage was such, that he ne-
ver ceased, til he had with fayre and plea-
sant wordes optayned licence of his fa-
ther, to go wyth him into Spayne. And
at his departing on a solemne day whan
his father did sacrifice in the temple, ac-

ording

17 JY 60

The warres betwene the
cordynge to the vse and ceremonye then vs-
ed, yonge Hanniball beinge there pre-
sent, layeng his handes on the holye au-
tare of the Temple, sware and auowed,
that from thens forth he woulde become
a deadlye enemye to the Romaynes, and
that he would vter the same his malycy
on them, as soone as he were able. This
othe and vowe pleased well his fathur
Amilcar. For his intent was shortly af-
ter to moue the Carthaginēses to warre
wyth the Romaynes, but he dyed soone
after: whose death, wyth the tender age
of his sonne Hanniball, stayed that en-
terprise, and caused the peace to endure
betwene them. viii. yeares longer. Du-
rynge whychs time, one Asdruball, that
marayed the daughter of Amilcar, gouer-
ned the army, a man of great wisedome
and polycye. For he by his gentle enter-
tayninge of princes, and frendly han-
lynge of his neyghboures, more than by
battayle, brought many cities vnder the
obedience of Carthage. Whose facion in
the getting of frendes, whan the Romas-
nes perceyued, they sente unto him: and
renewing theyr olde amitee, entred into
a newe leage, for the moze sure and sta-
ble

Romaynes and the Carthaginēses. 2
ole conseruacion whereof, they determyned to set meetes and boundes of bothe
theyr empires. Wherefore they agreed,
that the riuere of Iberus shalde departe
their two seignories. Further, that the
Saquintines (a people that dwelled be-
twene both their dominions, and were
then in amitee and league with the Ro-
maynes) shold continue in peace, & be at
libertee, not troubled nor oppressed by
warre of nother party. This peace being
concluded, Hasdruball that hartily loued
Hanniball, sente his letters, and for hys
sake, caused the counsell of Carthage to
be mased, to licence Hanniball, beyng
then a freshe yonge man, to exercise hym
selfe in warre, to the intent, whē he were
of lawefull age, he might obtaine bothe
the rule and riches, that were his fathers.
Whereunto the moſte parte of the De-
natours agreed. Whereupon Hanniball
was incontinentemente sente into Spayne, to
be capitayne there vnder Hasdruball. At
his fyrt coming he gat the fauour of all
hys army, & so resembled his fathur in al poin-
tes, that the old souldiers supposed Amil-
car that was dead, to be restored again to
them alive. And in shorūt space he brought

The warres betwene the
to passe, that his father was not to be com-
pared vnto him, in winning the heartes
of people. He excelled in wisedome, pa-
tie, and feates of warre, that when the
Capitayne woulde haue anye weyghtye
matter enterprised, he woulde to him a-
bove al other commit the charge thereof.
He so ordred him selfe, bothe in obeyng
his capitaine, and ruling his souldours,
that it was hard to knowe, whether he
was better beloued of his capitaine, or of
his hoste. He was of an hyghe courage
in leopardinge on any perill, & of no lesse
counsayle in auoyding the same. His bo-
dye and minde coulde wylth no labour be-
waried or ouercome: he could as well sur-
taine heate as colde: of meates and drin-
kes he vsed none excesse, but that would
suffise nature: he prescribed no time to
reste or slepe by nighte nor by daye. And
when he myght from busynesse conueni-
ently rest, he desired neyther softe beddes
nor quiete sleepes, but being covered with
a shorte cloke or souldours garment, he
would repose hym vpon the hard earth.
He was not curios in garmentes: In
pleasant horses and sure armour was al-
ways his delite. Amonge all the armee

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 3

In hys back and on soote he was found
the best, he wold be euer the first and the
last in battaille: whiche his noble vertues
lacked not divers vices to accompayne
hem. For in stede of mercy and pitie, he
vsed extreamee crueltee, mirte with un-
saythesulnes, he regarded not the obser-
ving of his othe, whiche was to his great
dishonour.

C Of Hannibals fyrt warres and victory. Cap. ii.

Han this yonge capitayne had
thus exercised hym selfe vnder
Asdrubal the space of. iii. yeres,
it chaunced, that one of that
country (whose mayster Asdrubal before
had slayne) sodenlye ranne on him, and
slowe hym. Therupon beyng taken, he
neyther chaunged countenaunce nor fea-
red any punishment that shold come to
him therfore: but with smilinge counte-
naunce receyued his death. Then the
souldours of the armee, after the losse of
Asdruball, immedatelye by one consent
chose Hanniball to b^re theyr gouernour.
And he, appoyntinge to warre agaynste
the Romaynes, and Italy to be his pro-

B. iii. wince

vnice, thought he wold not long stay or tracte the tyme in ouermuch deliberating thereon; least thereby it myghte chaunce vnto hem, as it did vnto his father and Aldzuball, to be oppressed by some other mischaunce, intended to moue warre to the Saguntines beso^re rehearsed. And to colour his intent, he firsste led his armie into the coostes of Oicades, a people of Spayne, beyonide the ryuer of Iberus, neyghbour to the Saguntines, to thend it shoulde seme, that he of purpose or by anye pretence of warre dyd not seke to invade the Saguntines, but byunninge the countreies adioyning together, he shoulde also take Sagunt wyth him, as it laye in his waye in order wyth the other.

Among these he wanne the citye called Carteia, that was very ryche, whiche citie beinge subdued, the small townes adiacent willingly submitted theym selues to be vnder tribute. This done, he, so^r the winter tyme, withdrawe his army to a citee in Spayne, called newe Carthage And with distributing largely to his souldours the praye before gotten, and well payenge of every mans wages that was behinde, he wonne the heartes of all the hoste

hoste. So that they wholye agreed the nexte sommer folowynge to warre vpon the Macceis. Whych warres brought to passe, and ended, as they retourned, not farre from the ryuer of Tagus, the banished people of the countreyes aforesayde, assembled together, and rayled the Carpetanes, by whose helpe they were to the numbre of a hundred thousande, and trystyng to theyz greate multitude, came newlie vpon the Carthaginenses. Anniball perceyuinge that great power comming vpon him, abstained from battaile, and priuelye in the nyghe conueyed his army ouer a fowrd, and from thence with drewe his people a good space of: so that his enemies myghte haue place to come ouer the ryuer. Then set he. xl. elephan- tes along the riuer side, that they myght be redy to oppresse them at the entring of the water. Also, he comaundered his horse-men, that as soone as the footemen were entred the water, they shoulde fiersely assayle theym. The Carpetanes with the Macceis and Carteians, thinkinge theyz ennemis so^r feare to be fled from them, and entending to pursue them, wythout anye soveraynte or order, wyth all spedē, making

The warres betwene the
making great clamour, euery man rath-
ly take his next waie through the water.
Hannibals horsemen perceiuinge þ they
were entred the fourde, violently ran on
them, and wyth litell payne ouerthrew
a great number of theyȝ footemen in the
water, whych thyng was easy to doe, for
a footemā in the strength of the stremme
coulde in no wyse susteyne the force of a
horseman, onely the rushe of the horse
thoughe the ryder be unarmed, is able to
ouerthrowe any footeman: so feble is the
stape of his foote in the water. Thus
some were drowned, and some other that
passed ouer the ryuer, were oppressed,
wyth the Elephantes, so that in shorte
space they were all utterlye discomfited
and overcome. For before that those
whych last entered the riuer (though they
escaped the daunger of the horsemen)
could recule backe agayne to lande, and
assemble together, and set theym selfe in
aray, Anniball with a freshe bande of
men entred the water, and so quicly fol-
lowed and chased th̄, that fewe escaped.
Wherupon shortlye after he conquered
all the Carpetanes, & broughte them un-
der subjection of Carthage. And then all

the

Romaries and the Cartaginenses. 9
the bordeers beyond the water Iberus,
wholy became tributaries to Cartilage,
saue onely the Saguntines, with whō
as then they had not medled, but dyuers
quarelles were picked by theyȝ neygh-
bours, to get some occasion to warre a-
gainst them. And that perceyued wel the
Saguntines. Wherefore to preuent the
matter, they sente messangers to Rome,
to require succoures in the warres, that
they vndoubtedly loked for.

¶ Anniball besiegeth the Saguntines, and
howe he was sore wounded. Cap. iii.

He same yere that the ambassa-
dours were sent to Rome, Pub-
lius Cornelius Scipio, and
Titus Sempronius Longus
were consuls, and whē this matter was
wayed in the Senate house, with manye
other, concerninge the common wealth,
Publius Galerius Flaccus, and Quin-
tus Fabius Pamphilus, were chosen
ambassadours to go to Anniball, wyth
gentle perswassions to wythdraue hym
from warres with the Saguntines their
frendes: whych if they could not do, that
then

The warres betwene the
þer iþey shoule go to Cartilage to haue
druball the captyayne, chargyng hym vp-
pon peyne of the truce breaking, to cesse
and take vp the warres.

Whiles the Romaines prepared theyr
legacies, and ordered theyr assayres, An-
niball for slowynge no tyme conuen-
ent to hys busynes, with hys army spoy-
lynge and wakynge the countrey, appro-
ched and stersely assayed the citee of Sa-
gunt on thre partes. This citee was na-
med the rycheſte that was beyond the ri-
uer of Iberus: It stode not paſſyng a
myle from the ſea, and was in ſhort ſpace
ſo myghtylye increased by reaſon of the
commodityes of the water, the fruytes
of the lande, and multitude of the people,
that they excelled all the cities and coun-
trieſ aboute them bothe in number and
rychelle. Whan Anniball hadde circum-
ſpectly viwed the walles, he ſcunde a
corner; from the whiche dydde extende
a fayre playne baley, unto the whiche
corner he layd hys ſiege, reiſyng vp cer-
tayne engyns of defence, for the ſafe-
garde of his people, tyll they myghte ap-
roche the walles, and cartynge other in-
gyns to geue assaulte and to beate downe

the

Romaynes and the Cartaginenes. 6
the walles. But because the fayre playne
mythoute that corner, made that syde to
bee in moche ieopardye: the Citesyns
therfore had buyldeſ the walles on that
parte hygher than the other sydes.
There was also buyldeſ at that corner a
mighty highe towre, the ſtrength wherof
letted Anniball to laye hys ſiege to the
towre as he wolde haue done: Notwith-
ſtandynge he by reaſon of hys engyns,
gaue ſo sharpe assaulte, that the citesyns
beinge upon the walles were greatly a-
bafched, who at the ſame assaulte, not
only defended their walles manfully, but
also couragiouſly iſued out of the towne
and assailed their enemynes, and brea-
kyng downe their mumentes & ſorri-
caciōs, entred the towne againe wel nere
to as greate loſte of their enemynes as of
their owne people. Whiche thing whan
Annibal perceiued, he ſo ſodaynely myth
out aduifeinent approched to the walles,
and was ſtryken myth a barbed ſauelyn
in the thyghe, ſo that ſore wounded he
fell to the grounde. Whan his people
ſaw hym fall there was ſuche feare and
clamoure amoung them, that they cleane
gane ouer the assault, ſo that they ſuffered
the

The warres betwene the

the towne to be in rest tyl theyr capitanis
was healed. Durynge whiche time of rest
from battayle, the citisenis were not un-
occupyed. For they fortifyed them selfe
the more stronglye, so that they percei-
ued the assautes to come shoulde be more
fierce and perillous. Whan Hanniball
was cured of hys wounde, the siege and
warre became more deadly and terryble
than before. The Carthaginens daylye
increased, they were to the noumber of
Cl. P. who with theyr ingins bet downz
the walles of Sagunt to the grounde in
dyuers partes: so that they senterd sundry
tymes to haue wonne the eitee: but they
within, where the walles lacked, wyth
strengthe of men defended it. And thus
sometyme hope, and sometyme dyspayre
enforced both parts to do theyr uttermost

C The commynge of the Romayne ambassa-
dores to Hannibal and Cartilage, and what
answere they had of hym and them

Capit. viii.

At the meane season of thys long
continued warre, very doubtful
and vnygelye on bothe partes,
Worde

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 7

Worde came to Hanniball, that the Ro-
maine Legates were come: Unto whom
he sent a messenger, to shewe them, that
there was jeopardy in passinge through
so perillous and doutfull battayles of
Sagunge and wylde nations: And hym
selfe was so intricate with busynesse, that
he could not attend to speake with them,
or to here their legaeye. The ambassa-
dores heringe this answeare, departed to-
wardes Cartilage, as they were com-
maunded. Whiche thinge Hannibal per-
ceyng, sent letters to the senate and
Princes of Cartilage, that were his fren-
des, willyng them so to induce the peo-
ple, that they shuld in no wyse shewe fa-
vour to the Romaines. So that it came
to passe, that as they coulde not be recep-
ted of Hanniball, even so their ambas-
sage was voyde at Cartilage. For whan
Hanno, a man of greate autoritee, had
opened in the senate, the peril and jeopardie
of the truce breakyng, and the ven-
geance whiche myghte folowe vpon the
same: and perswaded, that it shuld be ne-
cessary, that Hanniball shoulde be yelded,
to the Romaynes, for amedes of the
truce breakyng: His oracion beinge fin-
shed

The warres betwene the
shed, the hole senate , more inclininge to
the vniuste enterpryse of Hanniball than
to any reasonable perswasion to the con-
trarye , esteemed hym to haue spoken
more vnsoundly than the legates of rome
¶ Therupon they answered the ambassa-
dours, that Hanniball had done nothing
but iustlye , and that the Romaynes dyd
wrong in taking parte with the Sagun-
tines against them of Carthage, beyng
theyz olde frendes . And thus whyle
the Romaines sente theyz ambassadours
two and fro, Hanniball ceassed not , but
whan his weary souldours releued them
selves of their peines and trauayle, to en-
courage his men against his ennemis ,
sometime with hope of victory, sometime
wyth hope of the ryche praye: so that they
were in suche wyse encouraged and sti-
red, that they thoughte nothinge able to
resyste them . And contrarywyse the Sa-
guntines were no lesse carefull and dy-
ligent to repare their broken walles, and
to prouide thinges to make resistance.
Hanniball, who never ceassed, but being
still occupied with inuencion of subtyltee
and crafte, commaunded a high towre of
timber so to be made , that it myghte bee

ccmo:

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 8
remoued to euery parte of the walles at
his pleasure. Whiche whan it was fini-
shed, he furnyshed wyth crossebowes & o-
ther ordynance, wherwyth he bette the
defenders from the walles. ¶ han incon-
tinent he sent. b.C. Africains, with pike-
ares and instruments to vndermyne and
breake downe the walles , whiche was
verye easye to brynge to passe wyth such
tooles. The walles were of the olde rude
makynge, not layde with lime & sand, but
wyth claye and blacke morter. ¶ There-
fore they had soone ouerthowen a great
parte of the walles, at which breach the
Carthaginenses entred , and came to a
hygh place of the citee, whiche they gar-
nyshed with all kyndes of ordynances,
and made a wal about the same, making
it as a castell or fortresse for them within
the citee. Notwithstanding the Sagunti-
nes, with as greate shypste as myghte be,
made countermures in the towne , and
defended them selfe: and saued those par-
tes that were not gotten as it myghte be.
But in shorte space they were so beaten,
that they wyl not where to defed. Thus
the Saguntynes defendyng the in-
warde partes of theyz towne, loste
dayly

The warres betwene the
daylye more and more of their citie. The
tayles also fayled them soze , by reason of
the longe siege. Agayne, the expectacyon
of theyr succours was in vaine. Because
the Romaines, theyr onely hope, were so
farre of. Notwithstandyng they were a
lyttell comforted, by reason that Annibal
was so sodaynly sent for to go against the
Dretanes and Carpetanes, whiche than
were rayled agayne, and began to rebel,
but their warre in the meane tyme sea-
med nothinge the leste , by reason of one
Mahatball, Minilcos sonne , who kepte
the siege so streightlye , that it seemed the
capitaine was not absent.

Whan Annibal was returned from
the Carpetanes and Dretanes warre,
the battaile begann more strongly than
before. Durynge whiche time, two sol-
diers, one named Alcon a Saguntine,
and the other called Alorcus a Spaniard
hauinge some hope of peace, determyned
to moue Annibal to the same. Alcon the
Saguntine was brought before Annibal
who shewed unto him, what they should
do, if they intended to haue peace. Whiche
condicions of peace seemed unto Alcon
verye unreasonable . Wherefore thin-

Kynge

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 5
kyngs that the Saguntines would in no
case agree unto the same : he remayned
there til, and would not returne againe
to his citie, affirming, that he were mor-
thy to dye, that vnder such couenauntes
would treaſe of peace. Whan Alcon had
denied that the Saguntines would re-
ceyue any ſuch truce. Alorcus aforesayd,
beynge a ſouldiour of Annibals, and an
olde frende to the Saguntines , ſuppo-
ſing that theyr mindes might be perſwa-
ded to receyue the conditions of peace, ſe-
inge theyr walles ſo weake , and theyr
towne ſo eafe to be wonne, promised to
declare unto them the contentes of the
truce. He deliueringe his weapon to the
capitaynes of theyr enemis , was
broughte to the Pretor Saguntine : and
to into the Senate, where, whē the mul-
titude of the commons was a litell with-
drawen, thus he began his oracion.

If your citessin and messenger Alcon,
that came to Annibal to requyze peace,
had likewiſe brought from him unto you
the condicions of the same, my commng
noſte had bene in vayne. Which thing,
If he had done, I ſhoulde neither as Anni-
bals orator, nor as a fugitive, haue come

C. l. vnto

The warres betwene the

Unto you at this time. But seinge that he
egther through his owne defaulte, or els
by yours, taryeth wyth youre ennemyes
(lest you shold be ignoraunt, that then
are certayne condicions offered bothe of
peace and safegarde) I for the olde frend-
shyp and hospitalitie, that hath bene be-
tweene vs, am come to you: and syrle, I
would ye shoulde perswade your selues,
that for youre wealthe, and none other
cause, I speake to you those wordes, whi-
che I wil declare, and this you may well
perceyue. For as longe as you were able
with your owne power, to make resy-
stance, or trusted to haue succoure from
the Romaynes, I never made mention
to you of peace. Nowe seinge there is no
hope of succour from the Romaines, and
your owne strength and walles do fayle
you, being vnable any longer to resist: I
bring to you peace more necessarye than
ryghteous or full. Of the whiche peace
there is yet soyme hope, if, as Annibal be-
inge conquerour, doth sende it, so you as
people subdued will receyue it. For you
must consider, that you being conquered,
must of the conquerour receive what whi-
che of his goodnes he will geue you as a
reward.

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 10
ward. The conditions of peace aro-
these: He wyll take the citie (whyche he
hath broken for the moste parte, and al-
moste wonne) from you. He will leue to
you the feldes, and also assigne a place,
where you shall buylde a newe citie. He
commaundeth also your gold, siluer, and
other goodes, publike and priuate, to be
brought to him. He is contented to suffer
your selues, your wifes and children, to
passe in safegarde, if ye go out of the ci-
tie unarmed, takinge wyth you onely
double apparell for your bodies. Those
thinges youre victorious enemye Anni-
bal doth commaund you, the whiche your
sowlful chaunce and fortune doth per-
swade you to accepte. Trulye I doubt
not, when ye haue accomlyshed all these
his requestes, but that some of these con-
ditio[n]s shalbe remitted vnto you. I thinke
better, you shoulde rather suffer these in-
juries, than your selues to be slaine, your
wifes and children taken and violently
kilde aways before your faces, by the ex-
temelawes of warre.

¶ Howe Sagunt was truellpe con-
quered, Cap. v.

C. ii

Calan

Vulcan Alorcus had ended his oration, the chiese rulers of the citie departed sodaynelye from the rest of the multitude, and gathered all their golde and siluer from the publike and priuate places, into the market place: and before anye aunswere was geuen unto Alorcus touchinge his message, they caste it all into a fyre, thi was quickly made for the same purpos and many cast them selfe headlong after than the feare, the trembling, and the quakinge for this busynesse hadde passe through the citie, another rumour was afterwarde hearde. A towre of the citie that had long time bene brused and shak fell downe to the earth: at whiche place company of the Carthaginenses entred Anniball in such a chaunce thinking no mane long to deliberate, wþt great violence entred the towne, and intimated commandment that all the youth shoule be slayne; a cruell victoþe, notwithstanding it was knownen in that case almost necessary. For whiche of those shoulde spared, that eyther beinge inclosed wþt their wiues and children, burned they houses ouer them, oþr els beinge well ar-

med, would determine no end of þ warre but by death? The citie was taken wþt a great prayse of the which muche goodly household stuffe was sente to Carthage. Some write, the. viii. moneth, that the warre began, the citie was wonne, and that Anniball for the winter, retourned againe to new Carthage. During which time the ambassadours that wæt to Carthage, brought wþde to Rome, that the Saguntines were overcome and distroyed, and their citie taken: Whiche tidings hearde and knownen for trouth, brought such heutnes and sorowe together to the Romaines, what for pitye of their frenes unþworthily losse, and for shame that they had not succoured them in due time, that thereby they conceyued as great displeasure towarde the Carthaginenses, and also feare of losse of theyr owne countrey and goods, as though the whole power of theyr ennemis had bene presente at hande. Thus besyng troubled at onetime with dyuers motions of the minde, they semed rather to quake and tremble than to take counsayle: and good cause why. For there never warred agaynst them a moþr cruelle enemye, nor moþr be-

The warres betwene the
hemightlye geuen to all kindes of warre
neither their citisins never so sluggysh
and vnmete to warfare as then. Whan
they had longe bewayled this sorowesfull
chance, they prepared all thinges as
mete & necessarie for the warres as they
could. Some were sent into Fraunce,
some into Africa, and likewise into all
other places, where they had warres.

Chowe the Romayne ambassadors sent
to Carthage, and from thense into
Spanie, spedde. Cap. vi.

At the foresayd busynesse prepa-
red & set in good order, Quintus Fabius, Marcus Livius,
Lucius Aemilius, Caius Lu-
cinius, & Quintus Webius were sent in-
to Africa, to enquire of the Carthagin-
ies, whether Hannibal destroyed the ci-
ty of Sagunt, by the assent of the publike
counsayle or no. And if they would graunt
& defende, that it was done by the whole
counsaile, the to declare unto them, that
they woulde reuenge theyr wronges in
battayle. After the Romayns were come
to Carthage, and that Quintus Fabius
had in the senate enquired of the Sena-
tors

Romaynes and the Carthaginenes. 13
fours of Carthage, according to his com-
maundement, a prince of Carthage an-
swered on this wise.

Dye Romaynes, your first legacy (when
ye came and required Annibal to be deli-
vered unto you, as one that hadde besye-
ged Sagunt of his owne minde without
our counsayle) was vopde and of none ef-
fecte. Howe then should this your cruell
legacy take place, wherein ye require of
vs a confession of the trespassse, and a-
mendes for the same: I thinke it oughte
not to be inquired whether Sagunt was
destroyed by our publyke or priuate coun-
sayle, but whether it was done ryghte-
fully or wrongfullye. For your question
and consideration, as concernyng oure
citesin is, whether he enterprised the
syege and battaille by his owne minde, or
by our acorde: and our contrefuersie wyth
you, is, whether it myghte be done, the
truce beyng obserued or no. Therfore,
syth it must be determined, what rulers
maye doore by the common counsayle,
and what of theyr owne wyll: Ye
muste understande, that the truce that
was taken betwene you and vs, was
geuen by Luctatius, then beyng youre

The warres betwene the
consull: in whych it was conceyued, that
both oure frendes shoulde be spared , ne
mention being made of the Saguntines
for as then they were not your frendes.
But verely in the truce, that was taken
wyth Hasdruball, the Saguntines were
excepted, agaynt whych I wyll saye no-
thyng, but that I haue learned of you.
Trulye, ye refused to obserue the truce,
that C. Luctatus your consull, dyd de-
cree and make wyth vs , because it was
not done by auctorite of the fathers con-
script of your senate : then yf you do not
obserue and kepe your bandes and truce,
onelesse they be constitute and made by
youre auctorite and commaundement:
We also wil not obserue the truce taken
by Hasdruball, whereof we were igno-
rant. Therfore leauwe nowe to speake of
Sagunt and Iberus: and declare boldlye
that whych you haue longe tyme consul-
ting, devised. Then the Romaine legate
aduaunced forth him selfe, and said: Here
we bringe unto you peace or warre: take
whether you will. Therunto they
kiersly answered, y he shoulde geue whe-
ther he wold. And when he agayne set-
ting forth his comaunderment had shewed

them

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 13
theym that they shoulde haue warre, they
answering all: that they woide accept it,
and with no lesse courage prosecute the
warre, than they had received it.
Whan the Romaine ambassadours had
proposed the warre as it was commaun-
ded theim, they wente from thense into
Spayne, wyth fayre behestes towynne
and allure the chiese cities therof to their
faour, and to tourne from the Carta-
ginenses. First they came to Bargusies,
who received them gentilly, because they
were verye to be vnder the dominyon of
Cartage, surrynge muche people wyth
desyre of the new warres. From thense
they came to the Moctans: whose wyss
and quicke aunswere shouflye knownen
through Spayne, turned the residue of
the people from the frenship of the Ro-
mayns. Thus the eldest of them in coun-
saile answered.

O ye Romaynes holwe maye ye for
thame requyze vs to accepte your fren-
ship before the frenship of the Cartagi-
nenses , whan they that so dyd (the Sa-
guntines) ye more cruelly betraied than
theyr enemis did destroye. Therfore I
wold counsaile you, to go seke your fren-

C.b.

des,

The warres betwene the
des, where the destruction of Sagunt
not knownen. For as theyr destrukcion
was an heauye and pityfull thinge to th
Spaniardes: so is the same a great war
ning & teaching, that no man shuld trus
to the promise and frendshyp of the Ro
maynes. With this aunswere they wen
commaunded shortly to departe from th
Volcianes, neither coulde they after ga
any better frendshyp of any of the coun
syle of Spayne. And so whan they ha
in vaine trauailed through Spaine, they
came into Frans, where whan they ha
before the nobles and greate multytude
of the people, magnified and extolled th
renoume and power of the Romaynes,
they desyred that the Carthaginenses
shoulde haue no waye through Frans,
to leade theyr army into Italy. At which
requeste there arose such a laughing
among them, that (as it was sayd) scarce
ly the youth coulde be pacified of the an
cient men and rulers. Their desyre was
thought very foolish and vre reasonable,
that the frenchmen shoulde not suffer th
Carthaginenses to leade theyr army
through Frans: but they for other mens
pleasure shoulde tourne the warre to them
selues,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 14
Selues, and hasarde theyr countrey to be
dystroyed. Whan the noyse was appea
sed, answere was made, that the Romai
nes were at no tyme so frendly unto thent
nor the Carthaginenses so greate foes,
that they wold eyther bold with the one,
or warre agaynst the other. They sayde
more ouer, that the Romaynes had dry
uen dyuers of theyr countrey men oute of
Italys, and caused other to pape tribute,
with manye other iniurys. Suche aun
swere for the moste parte they receyued
through all France, nor other newes of
peace or frendship they scarsely haerde be
fore they came to Massilia: There they
had knowledge by certaine of theyr fren
ches, that Annibal had obteined the harts
of the frenchmen before, and that he had
corrupted the Prynces and rulers wyth
money, wherof they were most couetous
and desirous of all nacions. So whan the
Romains had wandred through Spaine
and Frans, at laste they came to Rome,
not longe after the Consuls were gone
to the prouinces, and they found the citie
hollye bente on the expectacion of warre.
For it was euidently knowē, that the Car
thaginenses were passed the riuver Iberus.
Howe

The warres betwene the
¶ How Anniball renewyng the warre, conda-
ted his armpe into Fraunce to passe the
mountaynes. Cap. vii.

After Sagunte was wonne, Annibal (as afoore is said) went to new Carthage for the wintyr, & there hearing what was done and sayde bothe at Rome and Carthage, and that he was not onlye the capitaine of the warres, but also the chyse caisse therof: partinge and deuidynge the resioue of the pray, and thinkinge to lose no longer time, called the souldours of Spaine together, and exhortyng them to warre, said on this wyse:

I suppose that you my frendes do know, seinge all Spayne is peassible and at rest, that eyther we muste synghe the warfare and send home our souldours, or els beginne warres with some other nacion. If we seke renoume and victory in other countreys, our owne nacion shal not onlye flourishe in gooddes, tranquyllitee, and peace of theyr owne at home, but also enioye the rycheesse, the iewelles of the spoyle at our conquest. Wherfore seyng ye muste travayle farre from home, and vncer-

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 15

Uncertayne it is, whan ye shall retourne agayne to see youre houses, and those whom you loue, if any of you wyll go see his friendes, I shal geue hym spendyng for a season, but I warne you all, that ye be here againe with meate the spryng of the yeare, at whych time I intende to beginne the warres, by the goddes fauour, with great hope of wynnung and praise. Euerye man was gladde of the libertee that Anniball of his free will had geuen them, to go see their countreys and fren-des. The resse from trauaille whych they had all the winter season, made them stronge and luffye in theyr bodyes and couragious to endure the labours and peines, that were to come. And at the beginnyng of ver they assembled together as it was commaunded.

¶ When Anniball had taken the masters of all nacions that came to aide him he departinge from Gades, accomplished his booke made to Hercules: and bounde hym selfe with newe bookes, if his other enterpryses did prosperously succeeде.

Wherfore prouiding as wel for to withstande invasions, as to inuate by warre, deste whyle that he journeyed by lande, throughte

The warres betwene the

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 16
through Spaine and France towardes Italy, he shuld leue Africa open and taly, he shuld leue Africa open and nies were hid & secret. Whan he had sent to the Romayns from Sicilia, he determined to leue there strong garrisons in all places. And soz that cause he sent for a bend of Africane, namely of thos that bse to thre darteres, and were ligh harneyshed, whiche number of Africane he lefte in Spayne, and than sente he great number of Spaniardes into Africa to kepe that Countrey, to the entent they being eche of them farre from they countrey and frendes, shuld (as though they were pledges eche for other) play the good souldyours, and stycynge toghether, defend in that they myghte the one countrey of the other. After he had ordered and assigned stronge garrisons to euerie part and region, as to Cartbage, Spaine and Africa, remouyng his armye from Gades to new Cartbage, led them from thens to the riuier of Iberus, and to the sea cost. There (it was said) he saw in his slepe a yonge man of a heuenlye shape, whiche sayde he was sente from Jupiter vnto Anniball, to conducte him into Ita-
lie, showynge to hym before the descre-
tion of Italy: and that he shuld procede in his hoste, denyded into thre partes, ouer the riuier of Iberus. Dyuers of hys frendes he sente before hym, to wyn the hertes of the frechmen with gistes, through whose contrey he musste nedes passe: and also to viewe the passages ouer the mountaynes. He conducted. lxx. and. x. M. foote-
men, & xii. M. horsmen ouer the foresaid water of Iberus. Than subdued he dyuers townes and domynions therabout, which lay at the fote of the mount of Pi-
rene, & there he appoynted Hanns with. x thousand footemen, and a thousand horse-
men to remayne to kepe those passages and straites, which lay betwene France and Spayne, whan they begannen to approche nigh to the foresaid high & dangerous mountains, and that it was openly knownen, that the war was take agaynst the Romayns, thre thousand of the Cart-
petanes footemen, sodaynelye departed from the host, & forsoke him, not for feare of the warre, but for the longe tourney, & peryllous passage ouer the mountaines almost vnable to be passed, Annibal seeing

The warres betwene the

he coulde not change their mindes, al
that it was doutfull to kepe them by vi
lence, leste it shold sterte the fierce min
d of the residue and make them wery, sei
after them aboue. 7000. other more, sic
as he supposed to be werye of the wa
rare, saynyng that he had also licenc
them that were syrst stolen awaie, to
parte home, because of the tedious iou
ney: this did he to thintent the rest shoul
have none occasion to leave or forswa
hym. And than leste by prolonginge it
time, he shoulde hinder the mindes of
residue, he led his hoste forth with sped
and passinge the mountaines of Pyrene,
pitched his tentes before a towne, call
Iliber. Th: frenchemen althoughe they
herd that the Carthaginenses were com
to warre vpon Italye, yet because th
same wente, that the Spaniardes on th
other syde of the hyll of Pyrene, were
them subdued, and stronge garrifon
therfore there leste, beyng afraide of se
uitude, armed them, and much people as
sembed at a towne called ruscino. Wh
the thyng whan Anniball herde, fearin
more delay of tyme, than warre, with a
great haste as might be, he sent oratoun

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 57

On they: rulers, desyryng to speake wyth
them: the wyringe that he came not as an
enemy, but as a guest or friend to france
and that he wold not, if it pleased them,
valye his sworde, before he were passed
france. The frenchemen herynge thys,
discontynent remoued to Iliber, and with
good wyl came to Anniball, which wan
them with gistes, to suffer hym to haue
free passage through the their townes and
countreyss.

Nowe Anniball passed the ryuer of Rhoda,
but the frenchemen to flyghte, refused
to fighte wyth the consill of Rome and

With what wordes he encouraged his
souldiours to passe the mountaine, to a
certaine countreyss. Cap. but.

Hys Annibal either with feare
or with money wyynyng the

countreyss as he went, brought
his host to a syeld of the Volca
nes, a strong kynge of people, whiche inha
ited on both sydes the water of Rhoda
nes, who doubting the power of the Car
thaginenses, and mistrusting they: owne
strength, conueyed all that they had ouer

D.

the

¶ The warres betwix the
the place, & kept the farther side thered
that the riuere shoulde be as a manime
corrasance to them: The residue of thos
habitantes, that remained there (becau
they were gladd to ridde the countrye
such a huge numbere of men of war) were
contented to be retayned by Anniball
rewardes to make botes and shippes,
spasse ouer the riuere, so that in short spa
they had gotten and newe made a gre
narie of shippes, and of small cocke
tes. The frenchmen begaunce to fashon
botes, hewynge trees and making the
holowe after the ryght factyon. And th
the soldidours theym selues, both for
plentie of timbre, and also the easines
of the crafte, eech man hewed his tra
and made a bote to carp him selfe and hi
stiffe ouer. When all thyng was mad
readye to passe ouer, the great compa
of ennemis on horsebacke and on foot
that were on the other side, abashed
them sore. Whiche to sygne awaie, An
nibal sent Hanno Bomilcarz sonne w
a strong compayne, namely of Spani
des in the beginnunge of the nighte, com
maunding them to kepe up the riuere all
a day

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 18
dales iourney, and as soone as he could
conuaye his compayne ouer priuileye,
that they myght be readye when time re
sylped, to set vpon theyr enuenyees be
ynde. Certayne Frenchmen were ap
pointed to gayde and conuaye them vp
alonge the riuer side: Who conducted
them the space of ffe & twenty miles vp
the streame to a littel Ile where they fel
led trees, and spedelye made botes, in the
whiche they might conuaye them selues,
theyr horses, and their necessarye stiffe
ouer. The Spanyardes thowinge theyr
clothes upon bottels, and sitting on their
helles fassned aboue thereon, passed the
riuer, the rest of the hoste, ioynyng botes
together, passed ouer, and pitched theyr
tentes on the other side of the riuere,
where after their nightes iourneye, and
wearye dayes labour, they rested al that
daye and nyghte to refresh them.
¶ The nexte daye they remoued from
thenselue, and with bourning made a smoke
to signysye that they were passed the ry
uer, and were not farre of. Whiche thing
when Annibal perceyued, lest he should
lose the tyme, gaue a sygne to his hoste to
gale ouer. The footemen wyth theyr
baggage

The warres betwene the
baggage palled ouer in botes: the bo-
men shipped suche horses, as at they
laiding they must nedes occupye, the rest
the horses they tyed to small botes, and
caused them to swymme ouer. And to al-
swage the rage of the water, as well as
the ease of the small botes, as of the ho-
ses that swamme, they sette the great
shypes and botes betwene the stream
and theim. The frenchemen seeing this
ranne to the bankes with great shouting
and singing after their sacion, knocking
their sheldes ouer their heades, & shaking
their weapons in their right handes: no
withstanding it was a terrible basheyn
vnto them, to behold such a multitude
shippes, to heare the huge noyse & rush
of the water: the diuers cries, & clamour
of the mariners and souldours, that
devoured the to ouercome the rage of the
water: the exhortations that they th
were landed gaue to the other. Thus bi-
ing in great feare of the tumultuous ri-
linge before them, behinde theym arose
more dredful clamour that Hanno had
ken their campe, & came on them at thei
backes: they fled every man what way
he might soonest get. Whē Annibal ha-

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 19

swayed the rest of his hoste ouer, nothing
regardingē the Frenchemen, pitched his
tentes. The Romaines had sent P. Cor-
nelius Scipio wyth an armie to meets
with Annibal, and was a litell before ar-
riued at Massilia, & had pitched his tents
on the syde of the riuere of Khodanus.

Whē Annibal knewe thereof, he sent v.
C. Numidian horsemen, to viewe the Ro-
maynes campe, their ordre, and also the
numbre of them, who being espied were
encountred wythall by. iii. C. Romaines
Whyche after great slaughter on both sy-
des obteyned the victorye, and perforce
put the Numidians to fleyghte. Publius
Cornelius Scipio, being consull and ca-
pitayne of the Romayne armie loked for
none other thing but that Annibal shuld
gve him battayle. And like it was, that
he would so haue done, had not the lega-
tes of the Boios, & the ruler of Fraunce,
(whych offered them selues as compa-
nions in the iourney) tourned his mynde:
aduisyng him in nothyng to minyshe
his power, til he were come into Italy.

Whē Annibal was firmely fyred to
go forthe, he beganne to exhorte and en-
courage his souldours, whiche were al-
most

Were almosse discuraged with feare of
the doubtful passage ouer the high mountaynes , whyche they shoulde passe, shewynge vnto them that before they cam
out of Spayne, they had brought al those
people and realmes whiche were inclo-
sed wyth two sevralle seas , to be vnder
the dominion of Carthage : And that it
were shame for them to departe , seynge
they had alreadye passed the iopardous
passage ouer the ryuer of Rhodanus, and
also overcome so manye Frenchemen,
that prohibited theym that perillous pas-
sage. Moreouer he sayde, the same hys
mountaynes were in theyz sight, whiche
on the one parte ioyned to Italy. He shew-
ed them also, that the sayd mountaines
were not so dangerous, as they supposed
them to be. For they were but high hilles
and that men and beastes did inhabyte
vpon them, whiche hilles , whyles they
did not touche the skye, myghte be ouer-
come by mans laboure. Also, seynge that
trauavlers passe ouer wyth theyz stusse,
wives and children, muche more soldi-
ours having but theyz armour and wea-
pons, myght go ouer them: yz may (sayle
he) wel perceine, that such as in time past

Went

Went ouer these hilles ; had not wylges
to flee ouer theym, wherefore eyther ye
must gene place bothe in hardinesse and
vertue to the Frenchemen, beinge so of-
tentimes overcome of vs, whych by their
strengthe and manhode conquered these
mountaynes in olde time, or els let vs
truste, that the ende of our tourney, shall
be the great felde lieng betwene the riuere
of Tiber, and the walles of Rome.

Whan he had with these exhortatyonis,
incouraged them, the next daye he reno-
wed from Rhodanus, and toke hys waye
through the middell of Fraunce, not be-
cause that was his next way but for that
he would not mete the Romaines before
he came into Italy. Wherfore he wente
the further from the sea, and brought his
hoste into a litell yle. The inhabitauntes
wherof were called Allobroges, a kinde
of people , that in honoure and rychesse
myght not lyghtly be matched in France
Amonge theym was greate dyscorde, by
reason of two brethren that stroue for
the lande. Whan Anniball was entred
the sayde lande , the determinynation of
the contention was committed wholye
to him: who in shorte space set and esta-
blished

Blyshed the elder in possession of the inheritance. Whiche done, the sayde lansayded him with men, bytayles, clothes, to defend them frō the colde of the mountaynes, and other necessaries; and so he departed to go to the mountaynes, not holding the ryght waye, but helde on the leste hande still wythoute interruption vntill he came to a floud called Druentia this was in all Fraunce the daungeroust riuere to passe ouer. For notwithstanding that the water was swifte and of great strength, yet coulde it beare no shippes, because it was inclosed with no sure bankes: so that it made noise here drye ground, noise there deepe trit holes. Beside this it was replenished with greate ragged stones, so that there was no sure waie for any man to passe ouer.

After Anniball was departed from the riuere of Rhodanus, Publius Cornelius Scipio the consul within. iii. dayes came to the campe, where his enemis laye, who seinge they were gone, and that he could not easly overtake them, wente to his shippes, thinkinge to meete them as they descended from the mountaines into Italy, and so the better to medle with them

them there. And because Spayne shoulde not be leste without defence, he sent ther Cneus Scipio hys brother wyth a great parte of his hoste, againste Hasdruball, to the intente not onely to helpe hys frends and get mo, but also to drive Hasdruball out thereof, if he myghte, he hym selfe with a small army went to Genua, and with the hoste, that lay about the ryuer of Padus, he intended to kepe Italy.

Now and wyth what labour, peyne, and exedyng greate daunger Hanniball and his armee passed ouer the hyghe mountaines

Alpes into Italy. Capit. ix.

Anniball came from Druentia mooste part by the plaine fieldes and valeys (by the sufferance of the French men beyng inhabitauntes there) to the Alpes or high moun- tains: and as the same wente, so it was founde: The topes of the hyghe hillis were myngled with snowe, that almooste touched the skye, and full rude houses were set vpon the rockes, the beastes and labouryng cattell beyng frozen wyth colde, the men naked, vnshauen, and unrounded,

The warres betwene the

rounded, all the beastes and people were
starke and shronke together wyth froste,
wyth other thynges more fearefull and
horryble to be sene than spoken, whiche
wan the hoste salwe nere hand, dyd renne
and increase theyr dede. As the armie
marched vp betwixte the rockes, they
micht perceiue the mountaine men assem-
bled on the hilles ouer them to defend the
passage. Annibal caused hys standers to
stare there, and sente the Frenchmen
to viewe the passage. And whan he un-
derstode, that there was no goynge that
way, he pitched his tentes in the plainest
valey that he could finde among the bro-
ken stones & cragges. And perceiving by
the frenchmen, who knew almosste their
language, that the deserfe passages were
kepte on the day time, & that on the night
euerye of theym wolde repayre to they-
rotages or houses: The nexte mornynge
he gatte vp on the hilles makynge sem-
blance as though he wolde attempte to
winne the passage by force: thus he spent
the hole daye, dyssemblynge to doe one
thing, and intending an other, til it was
nyghte: than he wyth drue hym to hys
campe, where he before rested. But so-

longe

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 22

me as he wilst, that the mountaine men
and those that watched the passage, were
gone to theyr rest: he made manye greate
sites, & leauing al the cariage and stiffe,
with the horsemen and most parte of the
footemen in his campe, him selfe wyth a
great number of light and balyant men.
quickly passed the straites, & gat the same
hylls, that the other kepte before. The
nexte daye the hoste and stiffe beganne to
come after. In the morninge the moun-
taine men assembled to go to their places
as they were wont to do. But whan they
saw their enemyes had gotten their ca-
stels and places above their heades, it
feared them sore, and caused them to stay
for a season. Afterward, whan they sawe
so great feare among the host in the strei-
tes, and that they were almosste confoun-
ded with theyr owne noyse and trouble,
the horses tremblinge soz dede: they
thought to put theym to further trouble,
to worke them more displeasure. Wher-
fore they came downe by the hylls syde
wyth the rockes, being usd thereto, where
none other could escape: And nowe here,
we there, invaded the armie, so that
what soz the daungerousnes of the pas-
sage,

sage , and also by their ennemys they were meruaylouslye encumbred. But a boue al other troubles the greatest was, that whan they saw themselves thus in danger by reason of their ennemys & of the passage: than strove the one with the other, who shuld syrlt escape the daunger therof, by passing first the sayde straites, lightlyng more with theyr owne compa-
nye than with theyr ennemis . Theyr
cattel being also striken and herte by the
terthe of the mountayns, rozing and yel-
lyng, hurt and ouerthrewe manye of the
hoste, some armed, some unarmyd downe
the hyghe mountaynes , with stusse and
baggage, that pitie it was to beholde.

Whan Anniball was informed therof,
he descended with a greate number with
him & at his first coming, he disparkled
and put his enemies to flight , so that af-
terward he had not only leisure to conuey
his army, but also silence and quietnesse.
Whan he toke the castel the chiese place of
all that region, and other theyr villages.
And with the captyues cattell he founde
hys army three dayes. Departinge from
thense he came to an other sort of moun-
tayne people , whyche not by battayle,

but

Romaynes and the Carthagynenses .
But beyng taughte by the destruction of
theyr neighbours , with crafte subtyltye
and wylx deceiptes, wrought hym muche
displeasure. Certaine of the eldest and chie-
fest of the castelles came to Anniball,
swyng hym, that they beyng admony-
shed with the harme of theyr neighbours
wolde rather haue hys friendshyppe and
amitye , than prouoke the wrathe of the
Carthagynenses , offerynge to obey hys
commaundements, and to aide him with
bytailes; and to conducte hym and hys
people on theyr waye , and for the assur-
rance therof, they offered to delyuer him
pledges. Annibal as wylx and taughte
suche busines, neither gaue to their way-
des ouer hastye credence , nor despysed
theyr gentyll offer : lesse therby he shold
haue made them his manyst enemies,
but soberly receyued their hostages , and
bled theyr ayde vpon the waye : whose
guides he folowed not neglygently, but
in good order and araye. The elephantes
and horsemen were set before, and Anniball
him selfe came after with the stregh
of hys footemen in good araye , wylx-
lye ouerlokyng all thynges. Whan they
came to a more narow waye, hauinge an
hygh

high hyl on the one syde, the sayde barbare-like people sodainely set vpon them both behynde and afore, rolling downe great stones amoncge the hoste: The rerewarde was by them sore troubled, so that yf it had not been surelye defended, manye of them had been destroyed. In this trouble and perill remaphed they all the day, tyll the ryghte caused the ennemys to withdrawe. On the morowe they were nothinge so vered as the daye before. For theyr assaultes were but skyrmishes, somtyme before, somtyme behind. Wherfore they passed the streites, and came to the toppe of the mountaynes, wythin the space of iiij. dayes, not without greate jeopardy and slaughter, but moze of the brastes than of the men. There Annibal caused the armie, beynge weryed wyth laboure, trauayle, and syghtyng, to reste theym the space of two dayes. Durynge whiche tyme there fell suche abundance of snowe, that it renewed theyr sorowes, for the snow fyllinge euerye place as the armie shoulde passe in the mornynge, made them almosse despetate. Anniball perceyvynge their greate discourag, got before the standerdes, and wente vp on

a

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 24
a hille, from whence he nyghte see sare and wyde, where causyng his armie to laye a lytell, he shewed to them Italye, and the sayde fieldes that laye aboute the ryuer of Padus, adioyning to the mountaynes: and he sayde vnto them, that after they had passed these mountaynes, they had alredy scaled the walles not onlye of Italye, but also of the verye citce of Rome: shewynge them, that all other passages were plaine, easy and nothinge dangerous: and that within two or three battayles at the mosse, they shoulde attayne Rome, which was the head of Italye. With that the hoste beganne to se ferwarde without any interupcion, except it were by smal invasions as it were robbers, and suche small skyrmishynge: But the waye to descend was than more daungerous than it was at the ascending vp of the same: for it was so narowe, stipe, and slippy, that they could not saue them selues from falling. And whan one stode, he quertrewe hym that wente before hym, so that men and cattell were in jeopardye of theyr lyues. After that came they to a much more straunge rocke, the clifffes therof were so high and stipe,

that

The warres betwene the
that wþt great payne the ligier souldiers
by taking holde of the shrubbes and
trees, that grewe on the rocke side, could
descende downe. The place, whiche was
before of his owne nature pitchelong, by
sodayne breaking downe of the earthe,
was made a thousande foote stipe ryghte
downe to the bottome. The horsemen
stayed there, as though they had bene at
theyr tourneyes ende. When Anniball
inquired, what caused theym to tarye, it
was shewed him, that no man could passe
the daunger of the rocke. Then went he
to see the place hit selfe: and it seemed to
him, that by the pathes, & wayes, whiche
appeared to haue bene vnused, by leasure
and long compasse, he might wel enough
conuey his armie about the rocke, but all
was in bayne, so vpon the vnde yse and
frosen snowe there was the nyght before
newe snowe fallen of a small thickenesse
which after a litell goinge vpon, thawed
and gaue somewhat agayne, & became so
slippye, that scarcely vpon theyr handes
and knees coulde they sustayne them selues.
Theyr horses and cattell tumbled in
the snowe, and were sore cutte on theyr
legges with the sharpe yse: so that it was
great

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 25
great pitie to heare the mone that the peo-
ple made in euery parte. To appease all
this noyl, and to comfort his people, An-
niball caused theym by policie to make a
place to pytche theyr tentes on. First, he
caused the snowe and yse to be digged vp
and striken awaye, whiche was not done
without great labour and trauaille. He
had he inuented a propre devise to breake
the rockes, and through them to make a
reasonable passage, he caused his compa-
ny to cut downe a great number of trees
that grewe on the hill ouer them, whiche
he caused to be tumbled downe the hill,
vnto the sayde troublesome rockes, and
thereof to make great pyles of wood vp-
on the sayde great rockes, and when the
wynde was bygge, he caused theym to be
set on fyre. Then caused he great plentys
of vineger to be poured on the stones
that were before burned & wasted with
the greate heat of fyre, whereby they
were made much more gentle to be bro-
ken and shewed, and then with harkes of
yon and other instrumentes they broke
and brused the rockes, and made them a
waye so playne, that not only the cattell
might passe thorough, but also their Ele-
phantes

E. i. phantes

The warres betwene the
phantes and theyr cariage. About this
woke they continued .iiij. dayes, in whi-
ch time theyr cattell was almoste sam-
shed, for on the hilles was nothinge but
snowe to be gotten. Therfore they sent
theyr beasts to the valey partes to graze
wher also they rested .iii. dayes, and thi-
they came to the playne countreyes,
whych were occupied wyth husbandrye,
and were fertile. After this maner they
came into Italy, the fyfte moneth after
they set forth from newe Carthage: And
as some wryters saye, they passed the
mountaines in fyfte dayes. What
number of men Anniball brought
into Italy, the wryters do not
agree. Some saye he had a
C. thousand footemen,
and, xx. thousands
horsemens: some
writte of more
and some of
lesse.

Nowe both the armies of Rome and Carthage
approched, & the oracion that P. C. Scipio
the Consull made to encourage his
men to syght. Cap. 5.

Romaynes and the Carthaginens. 26

A Anniballes commynge to
those paynes, he found muche
for his purpose, the Laurines
and Insubres warring one a-
gainst the other, but he coulde not armie
his hoste to helpe the one parte, for theyr
bodyes were so weareye of laboure, theyr
clothes so soule and fylchie, that some
spered to reste after theyr trauayle, some
sought for hitayles after theyr hunger,
some taried to chaunge their apparayle
and make cleane theyr garmentes: they
were so sore haled in passing the moun-
taines. Whiche thing. P. Cornelius Scipi-
o the consull perceyued well, and that
caused him to make the moxe spede with
his armye to the riuier of Padus, that he
micht fight with them ere they were re-
freshed of theyr greate laboure, or coulde
haue time to furnishe their army. Scipio
had receiued of Manlius and Attilius an
host of newe souldiors, not muche exeri-
sed in warres, and such as were straun-
gers to him. When he was come to Pla-
centia, Anniball was remoued and had
taken and destroyed the chiese citie of the
Laurines, because theyr would not willig-
ly pelde che: & had wonne to his amistie al
C. 5. the

The warres betwene the
the dwellers aboue Padus, had not sh
comming of the consill feared them. By
that time that Anniball was a litell re
moued from the Laurines, the two hoo
stes were almost met, and also the cap
taynes. And as neither of theym was as
then knownen to the other, so they were
stryken wyth a certayne admizacion, the
one of the other. For Annibal by the win
ninge of Sagunte, was dread of the Ro
maines: and likewise he supposed Scipio
to be of no lesse fame and worthinesse,
for that he was chosen of the Romaynes
to be capitayne agaynst him. Then Scipio
passed ouer Padus, and remoued his
campe to a riuier called Ticinus: Ther
before he would geue battayle, to exhort
and encourage his men, thus he began
his oration vnto them.

If I had (louinge souldours) the same
armye, that I had in Fraunce with me,
I would not speake vnto you that, which
I intend at this present time to saye. For
what shoulde it neede to sterte and incou
rage those horsemen, whyche at the riuier
of Rhodanus so valiauntlye ouerthrewe
theyr ennemis: or those legions, wyth
whom I solowed this our fustine enne
mye

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 27
mye. Howe for because that hooсте was
sent by the Senate of Rome into Spaine
there to make warre vnder my brother
Cneius Scipio, to the intent you shoudles
haue both a consul and capitaine against
Annibal and the Cartaginenses, I wil
linglye toke vpon me this warre. A newe
capitayne to newe souldours shold vse
sewe wordes. Notwithstandinge least ye
should be ignorant in this kind of war,
and not knolle with whom ye shal fight
ye shal understand, that with these ye shall
haue a doe, whom in your last warres ye
subdued both by lande and sea, of whome
ye toke truage perforce the space of twen
tye yeare: from whome also you wonnen
Sardinia, and Sicilia, as a prey of war.
Therefore in this battayle ye must haue
the same heartes and myndes, that is
wonte to be in conquerours: and in youre
ennemis must nedes be such heartes as
happen to men ouercome. And they do
not nowe geue battayle of theyr owne
hardinesse and courage, but because they
can not choose: onelesse you think, that
they, whiche havinge theyr whole armys
freshe and lussy, withdrawe them & durst
not encounter with vs in battail beyond
the

The warres betwene the
the mountaynes ; and whyche losse the
partes both of horsemen and foote men
in passinge ouer the same mountaynes
should haue nowe more hope and trusse
than besore. And those fewe that be left
of theym , haue losse bothe heartes and
strength, so that they are nowe ymagines,
yea rather shadowes of men , than men
indeede, brynging elonged togither wyth
hunger and colde , fayne and scbled amonge
the rockye hilles. Besidz this,
theyr sinewes and veynes are chronke
together wyth colde of the snowe , theyr
membris wythered wyth froste and yle,
theyr harneys shaken, rusty, and broken,
theyr horses feble and lame. Wyth these
enemis you must syght, ye they are the
levinges of your enemies & not your ene-
mies. And I feare nothing more, than be-
soe you shal fight wyth your foes, it shal
be thought, y the mountaynes haue first
ouercome them, and taken the honoure
from vs. But so it is perchaunce necessa-
rie and meete, that the goddes wythoute
mans helpe, & wythoute battayle, shold
ouercome theym , that are truce brakers.
And that we be violated and deceipted,
Goulds nextis after the goddes (as theyr
ministers

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 28
ministers) bryngge them to vter con-
fusion. Peraduenture manye of you wyll
suppose , that I speake these wordes
proudly and hyghly, onelye for youre ex-
hortacion and comfort, and that I shold
thinke otherwyse my selfe: Therefore,
ye shall understand, that I was sent into
Spayne, to mine owne province , whi-
ther I was nowe going with mine host,
where I shoulde haue vsed bothe the fe-
loweship and counsaile of my brother in
all perilles and iepardies, & shold haue
sought rather with Hasdrubal being lesse
of power, than wyth Hanniball: and so
shoulde I haue had lesse to do. Not wyth-
standing whent I arrived with my shippes
beyonde the costes of Fraunce, landinge
I hearde greate bruyte of Anniball, and
sending a certayne horsemen before, pit-
ched my tentes at Rhodanus: and there
my company ouerthere we & put to syght
those, wyth whom it was theyr chauace
to mete in battayle. Thise because I could
not wyth foote men ouertake mine ene-
mye, which fled before me, I returned to
my shippes, and with as good spedde as
I could make, saylynge a great compasse
aboute, arrived here, to meete him in the
front

The warres betwene the
front of the mountaynes, to the intent
geue him battaile: And to prove whether
the earth hath brought forth sodaynelye,
within the space of these. xx yeares, other
Carthaginenses, than were wonte to be
bredde there or no. For if these be the
kinde of theym, that warred at the yle of
Egates, I remember wel that they were
solde from Erix for. xviii. d. a piece com
who would. Also I longe to prove, whe
ther this Anniball be the folower of Her
cules in his iourney, as he sapeth that he
is, or els a tributary, a stipendary, and a
seruaunt to the people of Rome, lefte by
his father. We haue to shewe the bands
of truce, written with the hand of his fa
ther Amilcar: who beinge commaunded
by our capitaine, withdrew his garrison
from the citie of Erix, who lamentynge
and frowninge received the greuous
lawes made agaynst the Carthaginen
ses subdued, who couenaunted with the
Romaynes to departe from Sicilia, and
to paye tribute. Therefore souldiours, I
woulde haue you syghte not onelye wyth
so good a courage as ye were wonte a
gaynst other ennemis, but also wyth
suche an indignation and displeasure,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 29
as though he you salwe youre seruau
tes armed to fighte againte you. We
might if we had wolde, whan they were
inclosed at Erix, with verye hunger (the
hardest and sooreste punishmente amonge
men) haue destroyed them. We might al
so (yf we had wold) haue sayled wyth our
victoriouſ ſtauez in Afrique, and in ſhort
space withoute battayle, utterlye haue
defroyed Carthage. We pardoned them,
we made peace wyth theym after they
were subdued, and toke them into oure
protection and defence whan they were
ſore greued with the warres of Afrike.
And for these our benefites ſhewed vnto
them, folowing this furious yong man,
they come to conquere oure countrey.
And wolde to God thys battayle nowe
were for honoure, and not for the healthe
and safetie of vs all. We fight not nowe
for the poffeffyon of Sicilia and Hardi
nia, for whyche we stroue in times past:
but now we muſte syghte for Italy. For
there is none other armee behynde vs,
which wil withstand them if we vs over
thowen: Nother be there any mo moun
taines, ouer which whiles they were pas
sing, men might prouide newe succours.

Here

The warres betwene the

Here we must resist them euē as we shal
fighte before the walles of Rome. Eve-
ry man must thinke that he with his ar-
mour couereth not & defendeth onely his
owne body, but also his wifē & smal chi-
ldren. So: let no man care onely for his
owne house and familie, but let him like
wise haue in minde, that the senate and
people of Rome beholdeth this oure con-
flict and battayle, and vpon our fortunē
at this present time dependeth the pros-
peritee of the citē & hole empire of rome.

¶ With what examples and wordes Annibal
exhortēd his souldiours to fighte valan-
tē. Cap. xi.

Vixen Wyles Scipio the counselle in
this manner exhortēd the Rō-
maines, Annibal thinking first
to encourage his men with de-
des, before he wolde exhortē them wyth
words, dispoſed his army in compasse as
it were to beholde a syghte, and than he
brought in the middes of them the mount
ayne men bounde, whonie he before had
taken prisoners: I layed also in the same
place the armour of the frenche, whiche
ha

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 30
he had ouercome, & caused one, that could
speake the language, to enquire of those
prisoners, whiche of theyn, if they were
loſed oute of theyn bondes, wolde take
hoys and armour, & fighte for their liues.
Than they all had defreyd armour and
battayle, he caused lottes for thym to be
taſte, and accordyng to the lotte loſed a
great number of them, who with leaping
and skipping after theyn maner, every of
them shortlye tooke his armoure, beynge
as ioyful and glad to die with honour, as
to lyue with shame and in captiuytie.

Than incontynente he called the souldy-
ours aboue him and made to them an o-
ration in maner and forme folowing.

If ye haue any minde or remembrance
of the example of the strangers fortune
not long pasted, ye should haue the same
euē now, in waing your owne fortune
and chance. Vee haue ouercome in bat-
taile those oure captiues. Wherefore vs
miste thinke, that all these youre pris-
oners, nowe shewēd before you, were not
shewēd as a spectacle for you to beholde:
But as a certaine reſemblance of yours
owne chance and condycion, in case ye be
nowe ouercome and taken: And ȝ can
not

The warres betwene the
not tell , whether fortune hathe geuen
greatester bandes, and more vrgent neces-
sitee to you, than it hath geuen heretofore
to these captiues. Two seas do compasse
you bothe on the ryght hande and on the
leste : and shypes haue you none to
escape away wythall. The water of Pa-
dus is al about vs, more violent than the
ryuer of Rhodanus , and at oure backes
are the high mountayns, which ye passed
with so great peine and peril. Wherefore
louing souldyours, ye muste eyther ouer-
come your ennemis at the fisticke encouuer-
ter, or els be slayne. And the selfe fortune
which hath brought you nowe into such
necessitie, that nedes ye must fight or die:
the same fortune shall geue you suche re-
wards, ys ye subdue your enemys, as no
mortal men can desire greater of the im-
mortal gods. If we shuld by our valyant-
nes recouer againe but onely Sicilia and
Sardinia, which were wonne from our
forefathers, it might be thought a suffici-
ent reward. But in case we spede well
now, what soever the romains haue got-
ten with so many victories & triumphes,
and all the dominions, whch they nowe
possesse, shalbe al ours, with the princes,
loordes

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 32
loordes and rulers of the same. To winne
so riche a prey with fauour and helpe of
the goddes, arme youre selfe , and sette
forth the boldelye. Ye haue hitherto longe
enoughe chasyng beastes on the wyde
and large mountaynes of Lusitania and
Celtiberia, founde no worthy praye nor
rewardes to recompence so manye youre
labours and perilles. Nowe it is tyme to
get your rich prais measuring your great
rewardes accordynge to the deserthes of
your trauayle, enterprisynge this so great
a journey, passinge ouer so manye moun-
taines and riuers, and by so many kindes
of armed people. Here fortune hathe ge-
uen you an ende of youre trauayle: Here
fortune wyll rewarde you accordynge to
the costes and charges that you haue been
at. Nor ye shoulde not suppose the victory
to be so hard, as the battaille is of greate
name. Ofteitmes a small host hath made
a great and a doutful battaille: againe no
ble people , yea and kynges haue bene o-
uercome in a littell moment. For take a-
waye the terrible scunde of the name of
rome, and what are they to be compared
to you: your great warres this. It. yeres
with your manhood, with youre good for-
tune

The warres betwene the
tyme I speakes not of. I will only remem-
ber thinges of late done. We are come by-
ther from the pyllars of Hercules , from
the Ocean sea , from the furthest part
of the world, passinge throughe and con-
quering so many fierce and cruel nacions
of Spayne and Fraunce . You shall
now fight with yong and vntaught sou-
dours, of late beaten and overcome by
the frenchemen, and as yet vnknowen
to theyr capitayne, and he vnto them.
Shall I that was borne and broughte vp
in the noble hous of my father, that hath
benthe chassise r of Spayne and France,
that haue conquered not onely the people
of the mounteynes : but also all the
passages , whyche is muche more : com-
pare my selfe wryth this weake capitayne
of a souternyght olde, wandrynge frome
hoste to hoste: to whom is a man this daye
wolde shewe the armye of Carthage and
the armye of the Romaynes together:
he cannot tel of which hoste he is gouer-
nor, but onely by the banners and bad-
ges. Surelye worthye warriours, I esteme
not this a littel, that there is none of you
before whom I haue not done some wor-
thy scate of warre . At that tyme ye

dyd

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 32
bid exolle and laude me, and thought me
worthy of gyftes and presermente.
And now I shall more lyke a fater than
capytaine, before you all enter into bat-
tayle agaistis these people , that nobec
knoweth vs, nor any of theym knoweth
ether. Where soever I caste myne eyes,
I see nothyng among you but hardynesse
and strengthe , the mooste auncient and
famous footemen, the mooste noble ar-
med and unarmede horsemen , and you
moste faithful and hardy Carthaginenses
and felowes, shall bothe syghte so; your
country, and in a iuste & ryghtious qua-
xell. We bryng warre and banners dis-
played into Italy nisome to the Romai-
nes: And so mucbe more boldly we maye
syghte, in howe muche the hope and cou-
rage of vs that inuade , is stronger than
theyr that onelye defende. Besydes all
this theyr wronge , and unworthy dea-
lynge towardes vs, dothe kendle and en-
courage our myndes. For syr I bryng
capitayne was reuyred, and than al you
that were at the destruction of Sagunt,
were in lykewyls reuyred to be delyu-
ered to the Romaynes be put to to deatbe.
Thys mooste cruell and proude nacione

both

The warres betwene the
both all thinges after theyz owne bray
and iudgement: they wil determine with
Whom we shall haue warre or peace. A
thyng that they do, they thinke it righ
full. They wyll appoyntc bylles am
fludes to be boundes and metes, whic
we maye not passe, yet wyll not they ob
serue the places and termes, whiche tha
haue settt and p[re]scribed them selues.
Thou shalt not (saye they) passe Iberus,
lest thou make the a do with the Sagun
tines, Sagunt is at Iberus: Therefor
you shal not moue thyther from your ap
poynted place. They esteeme it but a ly
tell to haue taken from vs our most au
ciente prouinces, Sardinia and Sicilia,
but they wyll haue Spayne also. And y
they winne that, than they wyl haue Af
rica. I maye well saye Africa also. For
they haue sent two consuls this yere, one
into Africa, and an other into Spayne.
There is nothing left to vs, but that tha
we muste be faine to wynne againe with
the sworde. If feare compell them, lyk
cowardes to flee here from vs, they haue
places enoughe to receiue them, they
know the countreys and wayes wherby
to escape: It behoueth you to play the da
lyant

Romaynes and the Cartthaginases. 32
ant men, and setting all at sic and seuent
ther to vanquysh, or elles yf fortune
owne, rather manfullye to dye in bat
tle, than to be slaine in fledg away. It
is that I haue sayd be fast fixed in your
mides, I saye to you for certayne, you
are all ready the victory.

How Scipio and Hannibal met by chancie,
and fought together, and how the consill
was herte, and Hannibal vic
tore. Cap. xiij.

Van by these ethortacions the
men of warre on bothe partes
were knegled and stered to bat
tayle, the Romaynes pytched
theyz tentes at Ticinus, where they be
gan to make a bridge, & first they made a
towre vpon the same, for the safegarde of
the bridge whiles it was workinge. But
while they were occupied aboue theyz
wooke, Hannibal sent Mahabal, with a
lodginge of the Punydes of. v. C. ho
men, to destroye the syuers of such as
were friendes to the Romaynes, char
geinge them to spare the Frenchmen:
and to leue the princes to forsake the Ro
maynes

maynes amitye. Whan the bʒidge was
made, Scipio conueyed his armie ouer;
and pitched within fide miles of Annibales
campe. And when the Romaynes
hoste approched, Mabarball was calle
backe. Whan Annibal (who could never
enough stire his souldours to battayle)
had promised them gystes, rewardes, y
and fredome, with landes also eyther in
Affrica, Spayne, or Italye, at their owne
pleasures, in case they myght obtaine the
upper hand: he did sacrifice vnto the gods
holding a lambe in the lefte hand, and a
lynt ston in the ryght hand, desiring Ju
piter and the goddes all, so to slea him as
he did the lambe, if he would breake yo
mise with them. And than euery of them
receiving a sure hope, desired the battell.
The Romaynes made no such haste, be
cause they were feareyd wyth straunge to
kens and syghtes a litell before. For
Wolfe was sene to come into theyz campe
which rent and toke those that he mette,
and him selfe escaped without hurt. Dy
uers other suche tokens verye straunge,
were shewed among the Romaynes.

Whan Scipio had soughte diligentlye
what

what they myght signifye: he sent wytu
certayne horsemen with him, to a litell
hill neare adiourning to viewe the numbre
and demeanour of Annibals host: where
by chaunce he met Annibal and certayne
horsemen with him, that was also ryden
forth to viewe the countreyes about.

Whan they were almost met, with great
care and diligence they set them selues in
araye to fight. The battayle was strong
for a season, and doubtefull. But in a
whyle the Romaine footemen fled backe
to theyz battayle, wher being myngled
wyth the horsemen, they caused greate
confusion: but whē the Numidian horse
men, whiche were on the wings, came
on them also, then fledde they on all par
tes to theyz campe. In this conflicte was
the Consul Scipio sore wounded, whom
wyth greate payne his horsemen carayd
out of the feild to their greate discomfort
Wherfore the nyght folowinge, the Ro
maines making as litell noyse as myght
be, that theyz ennemis shoule haue no
knowledage, remoued from Ticinus to
Padus: and came to Placentia, before
that Annibal wist that they were depar

fed from Ticinus. Mago with the Spaignysh footemen swam ouer the water quickly, & Annibal by the higher parte of the riuver, passed ouer his hoste, wyth as greate sped as myghte be. And wythyn a fewe daies he came & pitched before placentia, and on the morowe after, in the sight of his enemis, he ranged hys hoste, and sette them in araye redie to geue battayle. The night folowing by reason of sedicion that arose in the Romaine army there were manye Frenchmen slaine of those that came to theyr aide, wherupon two thousand fotemen and two hundred horsemen of the Frenchmen, sleyng the watchemen at the gates, fled to Annibal, whome he gentillye entartayned and kendled with hope of exceeding great rewardes, he sent every man home to his owne citee, thereby the more to allure and tourne the minds of the commons of theyr countrey unto hym. Scipio deming this slaughter to be a token, that all the Frenchmen woulde forsake hym, and that they beynge touched with this yuill dede, as a madnesse were fallen vppon them, wolde renne to harneys, notwithstanding hys wounde greued hym sore,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 34
yet as priuilye as he myght in the nyghte tyme, he remoued his hoste to the ryuer Trebia, and pytched in hygher places, and on lyttell hylles ylle for horsemen. Anniball hauyng knowledge therof, sent syll certaine Numidians after, and than all the horsemen: whych shold haue put the cereward to gret trouble, had not the Numidians for couetousnes of praye, tourned to the boyde tentes of the Romaynes, in which season they escaped.

Chow Annibal fought with Sempronius the consul, and by what meanes he put the Romayns to fylght. Cap. xiii.

During this time was Sempronius the other consul goyng to Sicilia with his armie, but in his journey he received letters from the senate, of the entrynge of the Carthaginenses into Italye, requiryng hym to aide the other Consul as soone as he myght. Which whan he perceiued, he layde garrysons in dyuers places, to defende the prouinces, and eame hym selfe with a strong power into Italye, to kepe the castles. Thus whan the two consuls

were

were mette together, all the power of Rome was there assembled agaynst Anniball. Notwythstanding the one conseruinge abated by his syrte battayle and soye wounde, woulde rather prolonge the matter, than fyght. But the other being freshe and lustye, and therefore more fyerce, would haue no delay, thinkinge it great honour unto him, if he myght recover agayne that the other consult had lost. Wherefore he sayde, that there was no man woulde deserre the battayle, but onely he, who beyng moxe weaker in his hearte then in his bodye, for the remembraunce of his wounde, did refrayne to fyght. And also that the tyme oughte not to be prolonged with sickle folkes. Shall we tarye and lose tyme? For what thirde consull, or what other armie shall we abyde? The Carthaginenses haue pitched their tentes in Italy, and wel nere in the riche of Rome: who seke now neither Sicilia, nor Hardinia, that were afore conquered from them, nor Spayne beyonde Iberus, but they are come to drue and expell the Romaynes out and from their alone land and native countrey. O (sayeth he) howe much woulde care fathers, whe-

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 35
were wont to warre before the walles of Cartbage, lament, if they sawe vs they chiloren, yea and two consuls, with their two hostes, tremblinge and quakinge in Italy within our campe, & that the Carthaginenses had wonne all the fieldes betwene the Alpes and Appeninium. These wordes spake he to his herte selowe in the pretory. And also the choosing of officers at Rome promoted him to make hast, lest that the tarienge fox his selowe bryngge hurte, myghte be occasion of theys losse of prayse and victorye: and lest the warre myght be committed to newe Consulles, whose election was the at hand. Which thynges considered, they prepared for the battayle in hast. Anniball althoughe he thought that nothing shoulde be done vniwarely, sens the two consuls were mette together, and that the warre shoulde be cruell and strong: yet did not he mistruste good fortune, because of his syrte battaille. He was also the moxe busye and intencion to do battayle, whiles he thoughte the souldours his ennemis were yonge and rawe in the warres, and whiles one the best consull was yet not whole of his woundes, and whiles the Frenchemens hearter

heartes of his armie (of whom he than had a great number) were strong and har dye, whose courage he thoughte & knew well woulde rather diminishe then increase, when they shold be brought any further from theyr owne countrey.

These thinges considered, he sent certayne Frenchmen abrode the countrey as spyes, who shewed him, that the Romaines were all ready to syght. Then Anniball wente to see and prouide a place to disceytle. There was in the middes betwene the twoo hostes, where the fieldes shold be, a riner whyche was closed on both sides, wyth great and hygh bankes beset about with the wedes of the feunes whiche almoste couered all the grounde, with yong willowes and shrubbes, and also with highe bushes & thornes: whiche when he had searched and perceyued it to be a place obscure and darke enoughe to hide an imbushement of horsemen in, he sayd to his brother Mago: This place shalt thou kepe, and thou shalt (sayde he) chose vnto the one thousand of horsemen and one thousand of foote men, of the best of mine armie, to lye here in these court places: and when time shal require to do

as I shall shewe you what thereto apperteineth, and be ye sure, that ye shal haue enemis blynd in these seates of warre. Whan Mago had a. M. horsemen, and a M. footemen deliuere to hym, Anniball commaunded the Numidian horsemen, the nexte morynge to passe the water of Trebia, and ryde vp & downe before the gates of his enemis campe: and whan they had with castynge and throwyng in to theyr tentes and stacyns, prouoked them to issue oute to battaile, alluryng them to pursue after, that then they shuld by littel and littell recule backe againe ouer the saide riner. The residue of the capitaines he commaunded, that they shuld cause all their men to dyne and refreshe them selfes, and after to be in a redynes, againste they shold be called to the battayle: Sempronius hearing the rumoure of the Numidies, brought all his armie (being very desyrous of battayle) to the riuer, where vnto the other reculed backe, as was appointed by Anniball. The weþer was extremely colde, and it snowed fast. The souldiours had taken no sustenance before, nor made any prouision to strength & kepe their bodies warme from the

The watteres betwene the
the cold frost and snowe. But in all hau-
sol wyng the Pumidians , theyz crafty-
ennemyes that fledde before them , en-
tered into the ryuer. Now was the water
rysen that nyght, by reason of that snow,
as hyghe as theyz brestes . Whan they
came out of the water, theyz bodies were
so starke and benommed with colde, that
scarsely they coulde holde theyz armoures
upon them: and also toward the myddes
of the daye , they begannen to saynte so
hunger . In the meane season Anniball
caused great syres to be made before hys
souldours tentes, that every man might
warne him: and also to put oyle in theyz
gloves, which shuld souple theyz ioyntes
and members . Whan they hearde that
theyz ennemyes were passed the ryuer,
beynge lussyte bothe in body and herte, e-
very man toke his weapon and wente to
battayle. Anniball ordred hys battayles
circumspectlye: syste he sette forthe hys
thowres of dargets , whiche were of the
ytes called Baleares, then his light har-
nayed footemen , to the number of. viii.
¶ and after them the other footemen: he
also bestowed in the . ii. wynges . x. ¶
haxemen , in whome rested the greate
strength

Romaynes and the Cartthaginases . 37
strengthe of hys battayle , and into these
wynges also he departed hys elephan-
tes , puttynge theim craftelye before the
syghte of his ennemyes horseys, whyche
were not wonte to theim , so that for
straungenes of the syghte , and the vn-
accustomed sauour of them, they scattered
abrode, and than th batteile by the foote
men was maintayned for a season : But
anone, what by reason of the horsemen
and elephantes, and also through the so-
dayne comynge of Mago with the Pu-
midians, that fierselye assayled the Ro-
mayne at theyz backes , they were cry-
ken with suche feare, that they fled on all
partes : Some ieoparded to take the wa-
ter agayne , and escaped to theyz tentes,
but of theim were but fewe , for eyther
they were drowned in the depe water, or
els slayne of theyz ennemies in the chace
at the water syde. Manye toke the ryghte
waye to Placentia, and thereby were sa-
ued. On the other syde the Cartaginen-
ses were so beaten with the raine mitte
wyth snowe , and with the intollerable
colde, that the beastes, Elephantes , and
men, were almost perisched . The river of
Trebia caused theire to retorne from
the

The warres betwene the
the pursuite of the Romaynes: so that al-
mosse deade for colde they came to they
campe, with very smal ioy of theyr victo-
ry. The next nyghte Scipio conueyed hys
hoste ouer the riuere of Trebia , and so to
Placentia, bnyware to the Carthaginem-
ses: who by reason of the vnhemmet storme
of rayne that fell that nyghte, coulde not
here the remouynge : or els for peyne of
woundes and werines of labour, dissm-
bled the matter and toke no heede thereof.
Thus were the Romaines conueyed pea-
sibly to Placentia , and from thens ther
passed ouer Padus to Cremona . When
the chance therof was knowen at rome,
there arose suche sodayne feare amonge
them, as though theyr ennemis had ben
come alredy with baners displaide before
the gates of rome: Neither had they hope
of anye further succours , whereby they
myght defende theyr enemys from their
gates and walles: The one consul being
ouercome at Ticinus : and the other cal-
led from Sicilia to helpe hym: and nowe
both beyng toghether ouercome, and their
two hostes : What other captyaynes,
what other legions had they more lefte
to wythstande them:

Hannibal

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 33
Hannibal intending to take a certayne castell
by stealth, was encountrred by the Consull,
wounded, and put to the worse , and af-
ter a great slaughter of the people, he
wonne Tiscunias. And howe Cn.
Scipio in Spayne, ouerthrew
Hanno in battaile. Cap. xiii.

Whan Sempronius by chaunce
had escaped the great daunger
of his ennemis, he retourned to
Rome , to the chosinge of the
newe Consuls, at whiche parliamente,
Cneius Seruilius , and C. Flaminius
were created consulles. Which thynges
done, he came to Placentia, thyngyng
to passe the Alpynter quyefelye in that
place, but the Romaynes had not quiete
so much as the Alpynter time. For the
Pumidianes and other of the hoste of An-
nibal were sparkeled abrode in the costes
so that they were troubled on every side.
There was a certayne market town
and castell not farre from Placentia, ve-
ry riche, and stronglye fensed. Thither
went Hannibal with his horsemen, and
such as were light harneysed, thinkinge
to winne it by assault in the nyghte.

But

The warres betwene the

But the watchmen perceiving his intent, raised such a cry, that it was hard to Placentia. Then the consul in the next morning, with his horsemen before, and his legions in good order followynge after, came thither, and gave them battayle, in the which Annibal was wounded: whereby the Carthagynenses were in such feare, that they gaue backe, and the peake lasted whyles Anniballes wounde was in healyng. And ere he was fully cured, he wente to a place called Ulicunias. That place was surelye kepte by the Romaines, who beyng a greate number, what of the garison, what of the townes men, also by reason of the assemble of the people of the countrey who being afraide of the Numidians, whiche raved abrode, fledde thither for succoure: these people (I saye) beyng many in number, herynge of the noble defendyng of the castell, adioyning to Placentia, thinkyng to doe a greate feate, with a great route of people, without any order, ranne to armour, and came forthe to encounter wyth Annibal. But because they were an vnruley compayne, withoute a capitaine or good order, the other, being but a fewe in number,

Romaines and the Carthaginenses. 5
ber, and good men of warre, hauyng a good capitaine, vnto whom they myghte trust, did discomfite of theym. xxxv. thousand, and the nexte daye tooke the towne, and made suche a slaughter and destruction amonge them, as was not hearde of a great season before. These were Anniballes victories duryng the wynter season, after whyche they rested the deepe of the wynter: And as soone as Spyngye time of the yere came, Semprius the consull, who was than returned from Rome, prepared to geue battayle to the Carthaginenses, & the first daye that they met, the Romaines had so good fortune, that they not only wounne the victory in plaine fielde, but also drove them to their tentes, and indeuored them selfes to winne their campe. But Annibal, setting certayne of his footemen to defende their gates or entrees of their campe, and causyngh the reste, as well footemen as horsemen to recule, did set them in array within the campe, to the intent to be in a retynes to rushe out vpon their enemies, so soone as he made to them a signe. The romaines seeing they could not winne þ campe, blew the retrete. whā Annibal saw, that

The warres betwene the

the battayle was slaked, & the Romaynes began to recule backe from his campe: he set forth the horsemen some on the right hand, and some on the left, and him self with the footemen, came after from the campe, and gaue them a strong battayle, putting them to much displeasure. But anone the night departed them wþt like losse and slaughter on both sides.

Whiles these thinges were done in Ita-
lye Cn. Scipio, being sent into Spayne
with his hoste, partly by force, and partly
by amitee and olde frendeshippe, he
brought all the countreyes from Lusita-
nia to the riuere of Iberus, vnder the ob-
dience of the Romaynes. And also, the
same of his gentle entartayninge of peo-
ple, broughte the inhabitauntes on the
mountaynes, and the wilde nations, to
be his assured scendes. So that they were
al ready with their armour and succours
to ayde the Romaynes to the best of their
powers. Hanno, whom Annibal had left
for the defence of these regions, knowing
these actes of Scipio, after his arriuall
and fearing least he shold be by him put
from the possession of all that countrey
appoynted to syghte with him before the
matter

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 40
matter were ouerfar gone, and pytched
his campe not farre from the houſe of the
Romaynes. Scipio knawinge that if he
did longe tary from battayle, he shoulde
gaue to do with him, and also with Has-
druball, who were both leſte for the de-
fence of the countrey, thoughte it better
for him to mete with them and theyr ho-
des ſeverallye, than to matche with both
the houſes together. El herefore he made
pede to meete ſirſt with Hanno and his
company. In which battayle, there were
ayne. vi. thouſand of the Cartaginen-
ſes, and. ii. M. taken with theyr capitaines
Hanno, and all theyr tentes, wþt a cer-
taine towne alſo, neare vnto the camp
called Stissus. Hasdrubal, before he
arde of the diſcomfiture of his felowe
Hanno, was paſſed the riuere of Iberus
wþt. viii. M. footemen, and one thou-
ſande horſemen, intendinge to mete the
Romaynes at theyr fyſt coming. But
when he heard of the ouerthowre of Han-
no and his people, he tourned towarde
the ſea, where by chaunce he met wþt
manye Romaynes, that were leſt in the
hippes not farre from Tarragon, wan-
dinge abroade vpon the ſea coſtes, taking

The warres beeþene the
no bede to their ennemis, as people mis-
trusting nothing, but being negligente
by reason of theyr late prosperous suc-
cess. Of these negligent persons many
he slewe, the rest he drove to their shippes
with great feare. Neuerthelesse him selfe
beyng afrayd of Scipios comming, durst
not long tary in those partes, but byth
his armie passed the riuier of Iberus, and
destroyed the feildes of the Illergites,
bryngyng them to his subiectiōn.

Chowe Annibal passed the daungerous fennes
nere to the riuier of Arnus, to the great losse of
his men and cattell, where the fenny ayre cau-
sed him to lose one of his eyes. And of the
haste that Flaminius the Consull ma-
keth to gene hym battayle

Cap.xv.

Aſ ſoone as the ſprunge of the
yeare dyd appeare, Annibal go-
inge frome the place, where he
wintered: because it was ſayde
that Flaminius the consull was come
to Aretium: notwithstanding that there
was a moze eaſy and better way ouer the
great perillous fennes, where as at that
tyme

Romaynes and the Cartaginences. 41
ome the riuier of Arnus had overflowed
moze higher than in times past, he com-
maunded the Spaniardes with the Afri-
cannes, and the moze part of the olde soul-
lours with theyr ſuſſe to go before, leſſe
þben they were conſtrayned to ſlaye in
mye place theyr necessaries ſhould be
wantyng: herete þem he ſet the frenche-
men, becauſe he woulde haue that houſe
in the middel, in whiche he had leaſt truſt
aſſe of all he comaundered the houſemen
to come, geuing in charge to Mago with
ertayne of the best Numidians, to come
þeynde, and to bring forth the armie,
ſpecially the Frenchemen, leaſe that
theyr wearines or ſcarfe of the long waye
ould cauſe them to ſlaye or to ſlyppe a-
waye, as they are verye ſayne and ſcar-
full people in ſuch buſineſſe. The fyſte
companye walowyng in the thycke
mudde and the depe waters, ſkarcely ſa-
ving them ſelues from drowninge, fo-
lowed theyr ſtanderdes and guides. The
Frenchemen that followed them coulde
neither ſaue them ſelues from fallinge:
neither when they were downe, well
arype agayne neyther could their heartes
ſtand. G. ii. comfort

The warres betwene the
Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 43
comforte theyr bodies, nor hope comforte
theyr heartes: some drewe theyr weary
membranes with payne after them. Some
other, where they ones fell, theyr hertes
beinge overcome with wearines were
constrayned to dye. The watche that
they suffred. iiiij. dayes, and. iiiij. nightes,
without anye slepe, was the chese cause
of theyr confusion. Wher they could finde
no dry place, wher they might rest their
weary bodes, the water couering al the
earth, they heaped theyr stusse and bag-
gage in the water, one packe on an ano-
ther, wherupon they rested and saued
them selues. The heapes of dead car-
tell, which were dead in al the way, was
in stede of beds to many that were saynt
and seble, whiche eased theym for a litell
space. Annibal him selfe hauing sore eyes
by reason of the intemperate spring time
of the yeare, that chaunged now to heat
and now to colde, being carted upon an
Elephant (which only remained) because
he shoulde be highe from the water: yet
through his great watche and colde, and
by reason of the fenny ayre being noisom
to his heade, and because there was no
place nor tym to heale hym, losse one of
his

his eyes. And wher he had passed the sen-
tences, not without great losse both of men
and of beastes, as lone as he came to drye
grounde, he pitched his campe, hauynge
certayne knowledge by his espies, that
the Romayne host was about Aretium,
a countrey as pleasaunte and fertile as
was in all Italye.

The Consul was then fierce and cruell,
for the ioye and the pride of his newe of-
fice. And he not onely litle feared the
lawe and dignite of the fathers of the Re-
nate, but also he wanted the feare of the
immortall goddes. Fortune also had nou-
trished this his solishe hardines with pros-
perous successe, as well in the riutle bu-
sines & assayres at home, as in certayne
foeyne battayles: so that it appeared,
that he went aboute all thinges cruellye
and ouer hastelye: neyther counsayngs
with the gods, nor with men. And howe
muche more readye he was to folowe his
owne follie, so much the busier was An-
nibal to prouoke and feere him to the
same. Wherfore leauinge his ennemyes
on the left hand, he went toward Fessu-
la, intending to destroy the fieldes of He-
truria, wher he shold the Consull as
G. iii. great

The warrs betwene the
great waite, destruction, and spyling
his frendes as he myght, both by robbing,
slaughter and burninge : to thinten
should thereby the rather be prouoked
battayle. Flamminius of his owne na-
ture was gotten to be busy, although his
ennemye would haue bene quiete and
rest, but when he sawe the goddes of hi-
scendes carryed away : & his neghbour
burned before his face: thinking it no
honour unto hym, to see Anniball wan-
der through the middes of Italye, takyn
his pleasure withoute anys resistance, he
determined incontinent to geue battayle
although manye of his men perswade
him, that he shold larrye the counsayle
of his felowe the other Consull, so that
they shold with both theyr counsayles
and hostes together, proceede vnto theyr
enterprise agaynste Anniball: and at the
mean time with the horsmen, and light
harneyshed footemen, to let hym from his
robbing and destroyenge the countrey.
But he contrarye to the aduertisement
that was geuen hym, beinge angrye,
clched forth of the counsell house, & quic-
kly caused the baners and standarde to be
displayde, and lept hym selfe vpon his
horse

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 43
horse, but incontinent the horse sodainlye
fell, and cast the Consull to the earthe
whiche unluckie beginning caused those
that were presente, greatlye to feare the
successe thereof.

Of the battayle of Trasimenus, with the death
of the Consull Flamminius, and manye
other Romaynes. Cap. xvi.

Anniball this while destroyed
and wasted by cruell warre, all
the feldes that were betweene
the citee of Cortona, and the
lake of Trasimenus, thinking the hear-
tes of his enemis the sooner to be mo-
ued to redresse the iniuris of theyr fren-
des. And they came to a place meete for
treason and disceyte, where as the great
lake or senne of Trasimenus did almost
loyne unto the hilles of Cortona. There
was at that place one onely strait and na-
rowe way to enter in, but afterward the
feldes wared a lytell broder and larger.
Quer that playne the hilles arose of a
great heyghte. In the same fayre and
playne place Anniball pitched his campes
where

Where he only with the Africaanes and
Spaniardes did rest. The rest of the light
harneyced men of the army: he brought
about the backe of the hilles. And he di-
posed the horsemen nere to the mouth of
the narowe entree, where the hils might
secretely couer and hide them: commaun-
dinge, that as soone as th^r Romaynes
were ories passed the strytes, the horse-
men shoulde appeare at theyr backes, so
that they shoulde be inclosed and hemmed
in on all partes, hauyngc no waye to
escape, by reason of the hilles and great
lake.

¶ Flamininius so lcoveryng his ennemys
was come about the setting of the sonne
to the lake: And the next day early in the
morning, whan it was scarcely day light
he with his host were passed the strytes
And whan his people beganne to straye
abrode into y larger field, they saw al the
place before them occupied with theyr
ennemys: And than they aperceyued trea-
son both behynde tbeym, and ouer theyr
heades. Whan Anniball knowynge his
ennemys to be inclosed with the lake
and hilles on the one syde, whyche he de-
syred, and also compassed aboute wyth
his

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 44
With his army on the other side, he gaue
signe to his men sodeynlye, to inuade
theyr ennemys: which his commaunde-
ment they anon with all diligence execu-
ted, running downe from the hil and as-
sayling the Romains on all partes. One
thing much amased the Romains by the
sodaine and straunge chaunge thereof:
there arose from the brome lake a myste-
rycker and darker than the hilles in ap-
parence, which letted them of the syghte
and true knowledge of the manner of
theyr ennemys iuualyon. The noyse of
the sodayne effraye arose amonge them,
before they perceiued them selues to be
betrayed and hemmed in: And the bat-
tayle was begonne bothe before and on
both sides, before that they coulde be put
in good araye, or take theyr armoure and
draw theyr swordes.

¶ The Consul Flaminius, whan al his
people were thus oppressed wyth feare,
he hym selfe as a man of greate courage
and lyttel affrayde, ordered hys troubled
companye, and set them in order as well
as the tym and place wolde serue hym,
þyll exhortynge them by all the meanes
he myght, to abyde and to fight, shewing
them,

The wyrres betwene the

theym, that it booted theym not to pray
and calle on thyp goddes, or to make
bowes to theym so; they delyuerant
There was nowe no waye for them
to escape but by strength and hardyness
there was no waye than to be made, by
with the swoordes; and the leste feare the
dydde take, the leste leoparty and peryll
shoulde they bee in. But the noyse was
so greacie, that the woordes and coun-
saylle of they Capytayne coulde not be
hearde. And they were so dysmayed
that they skarselye knewe they stander-
des and places to repayre unto. They
hadde scante hertes to drawe they wea-
pons: they harneys was rather a bur-
then to them tha a defence. They might
heare muche noise and clamoure of thos
that were wounded, but lyttell could
they see. Some fledde, and in the fleyng
hapned to fall into companies of Romai-
nes that fought earnestly, & by the wel-
layed from further fleyng. Some were
comminge towarde the battayle, and by
the discomfiture of suche as they mette,
whyche fledde awaie, were discouraged
and fled also. But at the laste, whan they
perceyued no waye to escape, than felle

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 45

they earnestly to fighting, not keping ey-
mer or aray, but by companyes, as it hap-
ped them to falle together. Whan be-
gan the battayle to be fyerce in al par-
tes, and endured almosse three houres,
and euery where verye cruel, but mosse
daungerous abouthe the consull. For the
strength of the host folowed hym: And on
whatsoeuer parte he sawe his men in
daunger, quickeley and diligentely he re-
ceuued them: And he beinge very valiant,
bothe myghtily assailed his ennemis, and
descended his citezens, vntyl one of Insu-
bia, called Ducarius, knowyng bothe
his horse and his face, sayde to his com-
pany: Here is the Consull, that not longe
agone confounded oure legyons, and dy-
stroyed bothe oure cityes and syeldes,
nowe shall I sende his sowle to the com-
pany of our friendes, that he al redy hath
slayne: and hyttinge his horse wyth the
spurres, he ranne violently throughe the
thickest of lys ennemyses route, sleyng
a squyre, whych mette hym unhap-
pyly in the waye. And afterwarde wyth
his speare, ranne the Consull throughe
the bodye, and had spoyled hym, had not
the stroge comparye of the Romayne
knyghtes

The warres betwene the
knyghtes bytchlande hym. After
death began the Romaynes to flee on
partes, and than nother hylles nor la
coulde lette them; they wandred as blin
men throughe the straites & ouer the ro
kes, some fallinge one ouer another. Am
whan they coulde finde none other way
they toke the nert waye throught the sen
nes, runnyng into the water ouer hea
and shulders, and were so; the most par
drowned. Thus was the daungerous
battayles at Trasymenus. xv. M. Ro
mans were slayne in the battayle, an
x. M. sparkled abode by dyuers wayes
came to rome. A. M. and. v. C. of the Ca
thaginenses were slayne in that battaille
and manye dyed after by reason of they
woundes, whiche they had. Anniball de
layered all the prisoners of Italye wyt
out rausome, but the Romans he kept
in prisone. Than commandedyd he, the bo
dys of his company that were deade, to
be disceuered from the other, and buried.
He sought the bodye of Flaminius wyt
greate diligence, to haue buried it, but he
coulde not fynde it. Whan the newes of
this great slaughter was first knownen at
Rome, the people assembled with grea
seare

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 46
are and rumoure in the market place,
gathering into companies, to knowe the
newes of therof. And a litel before the sonne
rizing. Marcus Pomponius pretor said:
With great bataile we ar overcome: and
thoughe the people herde hym saye no
ioye of certaintye, yet by receyvinge the
newes one of another, they filled the hole
citle with tidinges, that the consul, with
great part of the host, was slayne, and
that se we were leste on ilue, but were o
ther chased abode, or taken of theyr en
emyes. The women chyefelye
made eyther greate ioye for theyr frendes
that escaped, or els greate sorowe for
the deathe and captuytee of theym that
were slayne and taken. It was said, that
one woman whan she herde sodeynlye,
that her sonne came home and escaped
from the battaille, so ioy dyed at the gate
of the citle. And an other, to whom it
was shewed fasselye, that hir chylde was
slayne, she abode in hir house very sorow
ful, but whā he came home to hir lodaing
ye, she at the syght of him for greate
ioye dyed. The pretours kepte the senate
for certayne daies from the sonne rising
to the sonne set, counsaylyng what capi
taines,

The warres betwene the
faynes, and what hoste they myght haue
to wythād the Carthaginenses: but be-
fore they had made any certaine determi-
nation of theyr busines, they had tidyn-
ges of an other newe slaughter, whiche
was, that. iii. thousand horsemen, which
were sent by Herulius the other consul
to Flamminius, vnder the gouernace of
one. C. Centronius. After they herde of
the battayle of Trasymenus, they retur-
ned backe, and in Umbria were beraied
by Anniball, and destroyed. Which thing
troubled the myndes of the people neu-
eraylously. They werē in greate trouble
and feare, the consalle and heade officers
being absent, vnto whome they scarcely
durste sende theyr letters for feare of the
Carthaginenses, who were almost spred
ouer all Itallye. Wherefore they made
Quintus Fabius Maximus Prodicta-
tour, that was ruler of the Coramons,
and Marcus Russus Minutus mayster
of the horsemen, to these it was geuen
in charge by the Senate, to establishe and
make sure the walles and towers of
the citee, and to fortisye suche places, as
they shoulde thynke conuenient. Also to
breake the bridges, that were ouer the
and

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 47
atres and to prouyde for the kepyngt of
ry houses and citee, seinge they coulde
not defend Italy.

How Anniball by a craftye deceite escaped the
cittates of Formiana, wherin he was en clo-
sed by Q. Fabius Maximus. Ca. vii.

Annibal came in the meane sea-
son by Umbria to Spoletum,
distroyng & burning al before
him. Then beganne he to laye
age to the towne but he was dysper-
se with greate slaughter of his men.
Therefore supposing the citee of roome to
be of a great strength, seyng that lytell
owne was so strong, whose strength and
ower he than not very prosperously had
gaide, he withdrew his armie to the
lentyful country of Picenius, and from
thens to Peltignes, to Arpos, and to Lu-
eria, a country adioyning to Apula, sil-
obbyng and spoylyng the countreys as
he wente.

Whan Fabius, whom the Romaines
had chosen high officer, had set all thinge
at a stay in roome, he (takynge wth hym
the armie, þ before was to Herulius the
consul, & also. ii. other new romaine legiōs
fo)

The warres betwene the

for the encreasyng of hys armye) went
wyth the mayster of the horsemen Min-
tius, to mete with Anniball, and to stay
hym from the destruction of the country.
Fabius committing no thyng rashely by
fortune by easie iourneis and good espies
came into the fieldes of Arpos, pitchyng
his campe not farre from hys enemies.
Annibal soone after his coming, brought
his people into the fyeldes in good array
to fight: but Fabius all that daye kept
his men in their campe, wherupon Anni-
ball rebukynge the feble courage of the
romaynes, withdrew his people into their
tentes, fearing in hys mynde the sober-
nes of Fabius: whyche was a capitayn
chosen, farre vnlkye to Sempronius or
Flaminius. Neuerthelesse to proue the
facion and conducte of Fabius, Annibal
verystentimes remoued his campe, and
ever spoiled the countreyes of the friendes
of the Romaynes as he went: somtyme
he wolde sodeinly conuey his armye: and
than secretely tourne out of the way, and
lye in awaite, if by chounce he myghte
take his enimies at auantage: but Fa-
bius euer ledde his hoste by the high pla-
ces of the countreyes styll kepyng his en-
emynes

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 48
enimies in syghte, so that he would not be
farre from theym: yet intended he not to
geue them battayle, his men went never
out of theyz campe, but onely for the pro-
vision of thinges necessarie. And whan
they lacked vitayles, forage, or woodde,
he sente a greate numbre together, that
they myghte walke surelye. And also
those that went therfore, he suffered not
to stay farre from the hoste. He had euer
his horsemen and light barneyshed foote-
men in a readinesse and in array, for feare
of sodayne invasions of his enimies.
And also to thintent they shold be ready
to oppresse his foes, that at any time shold
roue abrode for spoile or for vitayles, he
minded never to leoparde the hole estate
of the empire in open battayle, but he re-
mayned still as a staye to weary his en-
imies. Whiche his soberenes was no lesse
displeasaunt to Annibal, than it was to
Minutius, the maister of the horsemen.
For he being rash and desirous to put al
in aventure, first priuily, & than openly
openly dispayased the slackenes of Fabi-
us, calling him both slowe and scarcefull.
Annibal ofte remouing, came from Ar-
pos to Samnium, wasting the fieldes of

The warres betwene the

The Beneventanes, and there he toke the towne of Ulesia, trussinge by the shew of so much displeasure, to cause Fabius to geue him battaile. There came to him the same time thre gentlemen of Italy whom Annibal had before at the battaile of Trasimenus taken prisoners, and deluered to libertee wþtþout ransome. These men shewed him, that in case he would conuaye his armie into Campania, they would helpe him with small payne to winne the noble citie of Capua. To this their motion Annibal at length agreed, sendinge them to Capua besy hym, to sterte the mindes of the rulers and of the commons thereto, and to retourne, brynging him the certainte of their sped. Then commaunded he his guyde to leade hym the nexte waye to the felde of Cassinus, hauynge knowledge by diuers experie men of the same countrey, that if he were ones mayster of the hill and strayne there, he should stoppe the Romaines from bringinge anye succours to theyz men, but that he should at his pleasure destroy them. But the guide mistaking the name of the countrey, toke Casilinus for their Cassinus. Therfor leading

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 49 leading him a wrong way, he conducted him by the countreyes of Alisinus, Calatinus, & Calenus, to the fieldes of Stelates. When Annibal beheld that countrey, to be on all partes enclosed with mountaynes and riuers, he inquired of his guide, in what region he then was. He aunswere againe, that the same day he wold bryng him to Castlinus. Where it Annibal beinge displeased, caused him to be soxe beaten with roddes: and after hanged for the example of other. Then brynging that he was so farre from his purpose, he thought in reuenging of his maiice, to bourne and spoyle that plentifull countrey about the riuer of Ulturnus. By this time was Fabius come by the milles, to the toppz of Massicus the mountaine: where the Romaynes myghte behold the Carthaginenses lodged in the ayre playnes vnder them, who ceased not to spoyle the fieldes of Falernus, and to burne the houses of Minella. This displeasure entred earnestly into the heartes of Minutius: who aboue other maligned the cowardise of the dictatour Fabius and by an oration ful of great iuinctiues set the heartes of the molte parte of the

The warres betwene the
host agaynst him. But all their murring
king Fabius litell esteminge, continued
the rest of the sommer in his olde facion,
ever keping Anniball from battayle, thi-
thing that he most desyzed. When the
winter beganne to drawe nere, Fabius
perceyuing the countrey not to be able to
 susteyne the hoste of his ennemis any
long season, and that there was none o-
ther waye for them to passe out of the fel-
des of Falernus, but onelyc by the same
strayte wayes, by which they before had
entred, he sendinge sufficente power
Romaynes to the hill of Callicula, and
the towne of Cassilinus: him selfe, wyl-
the maister of the horsemens kepte the na-
rrowe waye, by whiche Anniball must
nedes passe. Anniball willinge to know
the maner of keping of that strayte cam-
thither, and ther were made a skirmishe with
the Romaynes, somewhat to his losse
and was fayne to recule backe. And he
perceyuinge the Romaynes to haue the
Hammites and the Campanes their fren-
des at their backes, redy to succour them
with all necessaries, and that he and his
hoste were so enclosed, that he was like
to winter amonge the stones of Fornis

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 50
na, and the sandes of Lintern: he forga-
not then to renewe his accustomed sub-
tiltee and crafte. He inuented a deceypte
and mockeri, very feareful to mens sight
whereby he might passe the straytes by
stealth in the night, he caused rotten sic-
kes, and dry pieces of wood, to be gathe-
red together in the feldes, and faggottes
of yonge roddes and bowes to be made,
which he caused to be tyed to the hornes
of oren and kine, which he had before ta-
ken at a praye in the countrey, some be-
inge wilde, and some tame. There were
ii. thousande beastes, that should be thus
ordred. And the charge was committed
to Hasdruball, that he shoulde in the be-
ginning of the darkenes of the night, set
the faggottes on fyre, that were on the hor-
nes of the beastes: and then to dryue the
to the hilles and straytes, specially aboue
the waye, which the Romaynes kepte.
Then in the beginning of the nighte, se-
cretly he caused his men to remoue their
campe, driving the oren a litell before the
standerdes, but when they came to the
foote of the hill, and to the narowne waye
he commaundered the faggottes on the bea-
stes hornes to be sette on fyre. Whch
done

The warres betwene the
bone, the feare of the flaming fire aboue
their heades, and the heate coming to the
quicke and lower parte of the hornes of
the beasts, caused the to runne as though
they had bene mad. With which sodaine
running the yong roddes toke a burning
euen as though the woods and hilles had
bene on fire: and the mouing of their hel-
des, causyng the flame to spreade abrode,
shewed like as it had bene men running
abrode with fire. When those that were
set at the entring of the passage salwe the
fyre on the hygh hilles aboue theym, sup-
posyng that they had bene betrayde, leste
the place assignd them to kepe, and fled
to their succoures, sekirg the best way by
the topes of the hilles, by whiche the
great flame and blase didde shine, where
they chaunced upon certaine oren strayed
from theyr flocke. And when at the fyre
they salwe as it were liuinge thynges,
breathing fyre and flanies, they stooode as
astonied with the sight. But after per-
ceyuyng the crafte to be made and con-
veyed by men, then supposinge that there
was treason, with greate noyse and ru-
mour they toke them to flyghte. Fabius
also,

Bomaynes and the Carthaginenses. 52
also, seinge this mockery, fearing deceipte
kepte his people within his campe till it
was day. Thus in the night, while they
were astonyed wyth this straunge
sighte. Anniball passed the
grayte passage withoute
daunger, and pitched
his campe in the
fielde of Alis-
tanus.

Cneius Scipio, sygheeth wyth Hadrubat
and Hamilco on the sea, vpon the co-
astes of Spayne, dryueth theym to
land, taketh and destro yeth fiftie
and twenty shippes, with
a greate numbre of
the Carthagi-
nenses.
Capituli.

A fter thys harde escape oute of
daunger, Hanniball ledde his
armye, as though he woulde
haue gone towarde Rome, by
the

The warres betwene the
the fieldes of the Samanites, robbing and
burninge vnto the Pelignes, and from
thens retourned towarde Apulia. And
Fabius set his tentes betwene the city
of Rome and his ennemis, neyther go-
yng from them, nor geuinge them bat-
tayle, till in short space after he was cal-
led to Rome, for because of the sacrifice
that shoulde be done to the goddes. Be-
fore his departing, he not onely exhorted
Minutius, mayster of the horsemen, who
he left with his army, but also streyghtly
commaunded him, that he shoulde in no
wise haue to do with his ennemis, for a
nye occasion that shoulde be geuen him
and that he shoulde better trusse to com-
sayle than to fortune: and that he shoulde
rather folowe his advise, being his cap-
tayne, then vse the trade of Sempronius
and Flaminius, shewynge the daungers
of it by examples. Also he declared to him
the discente of theyr ennemis. And when
he had geuen him these exhortations in
Spayne, he departed to Rome.

In the beginninge of sommer, whyles
those thinges were done in Italye, great
warre begun in Spayne. Hasdrubal deli-
vered vnto him selfe xl. sail, wel furnished

Romaynes and the Carthaginenscs. 51
for the warre, and him selfe with a great
number of shippes, also departed from
Carthage, and sailed into Spayne, where
after he was arryued and landed his host
he set his shippes at the shore, nere to the
land, and pitched his campe on the land,
beyng redy to fight with his ennemys,
where so euer he found them on lande or
water. Scipio, after he came from the
wintring thought to haue gone on his e-
nnemis vpon the land, but whan he hard
of theyr succours, that were conime to
them, he durst not mette them on lande,
but chose a number of good souldours,
and made redye xxxv. sayle for to mette
them on the water, thinkinge to assayle
them soleilyle, er they shoulde be able to
ordeyne all thing for their defence. Wel ha-
sdruball had knowledge of theyr com-
ming, by reason of high towers made in
diuers places of Spayne, from whence
they maye see farre of on the sea, there a-
rose a great noise and feare amouge his
hoste in theyr tentes, for such as were on
the land, and thoughte littell to haue had
battaile that day: he commaunded to make
hast to theyr shippes, whiche they dyd o-
bey, and him selfe came hastily after. And
whan

The warres betwene the
whan they came to the water, the souldours so troubled the shypmen, and the shypmen the souldours, that none of th̄ could araye th̄m selves, and set in order thynges necessarylye for theyz busyness. Whyles this rumoure lasted, the Romains not onely were at hande, but also redye to fighte. The Carthaginenses no more troubled with theyz ennemis than with theyz owne rumour, were shortlye overcome and fledde: and at the first con-
flict the Romains toke two shypes, and droghton. iiiii. And although the Romaynes sowe all the shore occupied with men of armes, yet were they not aferde, but folowed theyz ennemys shypes stieng, in so muche that of. xxx. sayle they toke and destroyed. xxv. And with this grete praye wente agayne to the sea, and laved at Tarracō, where Scipio taried not long, but that his brother. p. Scipio arrived there also, sente by the senate wyth a greate manye, to the number of. xxxv. shypes, and. viii. p. souldours, wyth greate store of stiffe and ordynance.
Whan the two bretherne were associate together, there was nothinge that dydde with holde the willes & hertes of the peopple.

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 53
ple of Spayne from the frendeship of the Romans, sauing they feared the trespass shoulde be reuenged on theyz chylernes cloud, whiche were left as pledges by An-
tibal at Sagunt. How Acedur, a spaniard, by treason conueyde the pledges of Spayne from the Carthagi-
nenses, and deluyered them to the Romayns. Cap. ix.


Han was there in Sagunte a noble spaniard, called Acedur, who before that tyme had bene very fafhfull to the Carthagi-
nenses: but tha (as it is the facion of many of the common sort of men) whan so-
sunz fayled, hys saythe lykewyse chaunced. He imagyned wyth hym selfe, what wayc he myghte beste attayne the frend-
shippe of the Romaynes. After manye sundrye Imagynacions, he thoughte so-
nest to bringe it aboute, ys be myghte finde th̄ meanes, to deluer them those noble mens chylren, which were lefte at Sagunt as pledges and suerties. So by that meanes he thoughte the Romaines might best win the herts of the princes of Spayne. But this enterpryse he thought he could not compasse, onlesse he myghte obteine

The warres betwene the

Obtenuie the fauoure of one Bostar, who
lay encamped without the citee upon the
shoze of the riuer, with a good number of
Spaniardes, for the sure keping of the ci-
tee, and to stoppe the Romaynes the en-
ter that waye from the hauen, wythoutte
whose commandement he knew well the
kepers of the pledges wolde nothing do.
Than Acedur thought with crafte to as-
say Bostar, & went to the campe where
he lay, desyryng secretly to speake wyth
 hym: And first he began to shew hym the
daunger that the countrey was in, con-
sidering the strong army of the Romayns,
whiche was than at haunde. He shewed
 hym also, that the Spaniardes had so long
continued in the frendshyp of the Cartha-
ginenses, for feare more than for loue.
And all by cause the Romaine army was
so farre from them: but nowe syns they
were come ouer Iberus, it was to be sea-
red, lest they wolde all yelde them selues
vnto Scipio. Wherefore he desyzed hym
to worke wysely therin.

Than Bostar demanded of hym, what
he wolde haue him to do for remedy ther-
of, he aunswered: I wolde advise you, to
send the children of the noble men whom

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 57
ye haue as pledges in this towne to their
parentes frendes and cities: so shal ye get
all theyr hertes and loues by this kynde-
nes shelwynge, whiche ye can never get
with feare. For whan they synde, that ye
put trust in them, ye shall the more binde
them to be faithful. And I my selfe wyll
gladly take the peyne to delyuer agayne
the pledges to theyr friendes: & so worke,
that I wyll get theyr hertes to you much
more than ye nowe haue. Bostar, mea-
ning all trueth and plainnes, was enone
perswaded to the same purpose, & graun-
ted him the conduite of the sureties: Tha-
went Acedur priuyly to Scipio his ten-
tes, and there declared vnto him the good
wyll that he bare towarde hym and the
Romaines: And appointed with him the
time and place of deliury of the pledges.
Than went Acedur againe to Bostar, of
whom he receyued speciall commaunde-
mentes and tokens to the kepers of the
pledges, to goe with hym, takynge wyth
them the pledges, whan he wold requyre
them. Than shewed he the kepers of the
children, that he would departe from the
citee in the nyghte, to thintente that the
better to escape the daunger of the wa-
ches

The warres betwene the
ches of the Roman hoste. Wherefore he
wylled them to be redye to ryde wyth
hym, whā he called on them at an hōly
certayne in the nyghte solowynge: They
as innocentes in the matter, made all
thynges redye to depart at the hōlye ap-
poynted: at whiche hōlye he sayled not
to come. Thus departed he from the cy-
tee, bothe with the chldren and also their
kepers, and ere they were ware, he ledde
them amonge a noumber of Romaynes,
that by his crafty appoyntemente were
layde in imbushements for the same pur-
pose: where they were all taken, and
broughte to Scipio, who delyuered the
pledges to theyz cities and frends: wher-
by he gat the loue of the moxe parte of the
cities of Spayne: so that they were re-
dye to take armour to the ayde of the Ro-
maynes, whan soever Scipio commau-
ned them. These thynges were done
in Spayne, the seconde yere of the
warre betwene the Carttagi-
nenses and the Ro-
maynes.

(.)

Romaynes and the Carttaginenses. 55
Fabius being at Rome in displeasure, Gning-
tius maister of the horsemen fightinge with
Anniball, putteþ hym to the worse, and
therefore is made halfe ruler of the
hoste wyth Fabius, he fighteth
with hym agayne, and is put
to slighe, and rescued by
Fabius. Cap. xx.

Ow let vs returne to Fabius,
who by his wise abstaining fro
battaile had sauad manre of the
Romains fro death. Neuerthe-
leſſe it was thoughte at Rome by many,
that his hert failed him, and that he trif-
led forth the time, onely to thintente his
empire & rule might the longer continuo
and that he cared not, what cost the citee
were at, in finding so great an armee, so
that he myghte be at reste with honoure.
Thus had he gotten manye enemys at
Rome. And to encrease their malyce to-
ward him, Anniball wrought a meruay-
lous subtilte, he set a number of his men
to spoile the countrey, & commaūded them
in any wise to do no hurt to the landes of
Fabius, of whiche he gat the knowledge
by certaine that were fledde to hym from
the Roman army. This did he, to the in-
tent

The warres betwene the

sent it shuld be thoughte, that some secret
bargaine or conspiracy was made be-
twene hym and Fabius. Whiche crasy
acte of Anniball caused Fabius to be the
more suspect to the senate of Rome. But
to take awaye that suspicion from him,
Fabius sente his sonne, and solde the
grounde or fildes, whiche were not vio-
lated by Anniballes subtiltee. Nowe for-
tuned it also to increase Fabius euyl wil
at Rome, that after his departinge from
the hoste, Minutus, the mayster of the
horsemen, beinge left to guide the army,
caused the campe and tentes, which were
by Fabius set safte in the hygh hilles, to
be brought downe and pitched in the low
valeyng: And there they were dysposed af-
ter the discretion of the capitaine, thyn-
kyng eyther to make a skyrmishe byth
them that went abrode to robbe, or els to
inuade them that were left behynd in the
tentis. Annibal, knowyng that he shulde
kepe warre with a capteine much unlike
the other, and that hys ennemys wold
order their busynes more quicklye than
wyfely, and perceyuinge hys enemys tu-
draſne more nere unto him: he sente the
thyrdre parte of his souldors to robbe and

Romeynes and the Cartaginenses. 59
waste the countreyes, the other iij partes
he kept within theyz tentes. Then remo-
ued he his campe more nere to the Ro-
maynes, and abode vpon a certayne hill,
wher as the Romayne hoste myght per-
ceyue, þ they were ready to succour the
robbers, if any assaut were made on the.
This did he of purpose, to entylle the Ro-
maynes to battaille. Then could Piri-
cius no longer forbeare, but sent a good
numbre of horsemen, to assaile the rob-
bers, who destroyed manye of th̄ þ were
sparkled abrode seking theyz pray. Then
came Annibal to the rescue of his men.
But fortune so serued the Romanes, that
as they were most busye in fighting, one
Pumerius Decimus, a capitaine of the
Samnitescame to the succour of the Ro-
mans with. viii. $\frac{1}{2}$ fote me, & ii. C. horse-
men, by whose helpe they bet Annibal to
his cape, & slewe. vi. $\frac{1}{2}$ of his me, whiche
glad tidinges Minutus (although he had
lost in the same battel. v. $\frac{1}{2}$ of his owne
men) sent in his boþing letters to Rome
wherwith the citee was much comforþed
Notwithstandinge Fabius (when all the
citle was mery) would neither beleue the
newes nor the letters. At the last he sayd

The warres beewene the

If all were trewe, he rather feared their
prosperous aduenture, than rejoyc-
therin. Which sayeng caused him great-
ly to be hated of the citez̄es, and Marcus
Metellus, openly rebuked Fabius there-
fore, sayeng, that he kept his men in their
campes, more like captiues and pris-
oners, th̄e men of warre. Specially it was
not to be suffered that he beinge presente
would not only suffer nothing to be done
valiantly against his enemies, but nowe
also being absent, held agaynst the thing
that was wel done bi his maister of horse
men. Fabius answered but fewe words
so; he thought they shold be euel heard:
but he said, that wher. ii. yeres past, the
citee had susteyned great harmes & loss,
through the foolishe hardinesse of the go-
vernours, he doubted not, but if he might
beare rule and haue his minde, he would
make it euident to all men, that fortune
could litell do or woorke against a good ca-
pitaine, but y wisidome & reason shoulde
haue the dominion ouer all hir chances.
He saide further, y he had sauied his hoste
from a cruell enemy, in all this perillous
time without harme or shame: Which he
thought, ought more to be praysed, than
to kill a great number of enimies. But in

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 60
conclusion, the determination of the Sen-
ate was, y. Attilius Regulus shold
be Consull in the place of Flaminius:
And that Minutius, the maister of the
horsemen (who so noblye had gouerned
his army) shold be halfe ruler of the hoste
with Fabius, and the gouernaunce there-
of to be parted betwene them.

With these displeasāt actes of the senate
Fabius returned to his army, trusing,
that although Minutius shold haue halfe
the rule wyth him, yet shoulde he wante
the pollicie and maner of cōduyng his
part of the army to him cōmited: whiche
pollicye, by exercise and great traualle he
had obteyned. Minutius perceyving him
selfe to be had in such estimatiō at Rome
as wel with the Senatours, as wyth the
commons, where he was before a lytell
proude, he then beganne to take muche
more on him, boſinge him selfe, that in
theyr great calamitie, he alone was foud
out a capitaine able to matche Anniball.
And th̄e began he to deuise of the parting
of theyr, empire or rule. He woulde haue
had it so parted, that one day or one weke
he shoulde haue ruled all: And one other
day or weke, Fabius to rule all, and so
to

The warres bee wene the
to take the hole gouernaunce by tourne.
That would Fabius none of: but woulde
haue the army parted betwene thē, with
the ordinances and other necessaries.
Sayeng, that in case he could not by his
counsaile saue the hole host, yet he woulde
at saye to saue the halfe thereof, as wel as
he might. And on that poynt they agreed
and thereupon deuided their companies
or legions, and also theyr campes. This
debate and order of the Romayne Capi-
taynes was knownen to Anniball by es-
pyes as were al other thinges that were
done in the tentes of his enemies, which
tidinges brought to hym double ioy. One
was, for that he thoughte to vanquysh
the foolethe hardines of Minutius eue as
he woulde him selfe. The other was, for
that halfe the strengthe of Fabius was
minyded, by reason of the partinge of
the hoste. Then was there a hille be-
twene the hoste of Hanniball, and the
hoste of Minutius, whitch hill whosoever
had gotten, shoulde be able to do muche
displeasure to his enemis. Anniball
desyred not so muche to take it without
battaile, (although the occupacion ther-
of shoulde be to him very necessarie) as to
make

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 61
make it an occasion of battaile to Minu-
tius: whom he wiste well, woulde euer
run to withstande his enterprise, in the
attayning thereof. A selde there was in
the middell, betwene him and the sayde
hill, whiche fielde was verye playne and
sayre, and appeared muche unmeet for
treason, to hide any embuschement in, by-
cause it was neyther couered with wood
shrubbes, nor bushes. It seemed therefore
a place rather meete to descriue treason
than to hide it, for that in a playne and
bare valey no suche deceyte might be sea-
red. But then Anniball espyed, that in
the bottome of the sayde hill were divers
caues and holowe places in the rockes, of
whychs some were able to receyue and
hide ii. hundrede souldours armed. In
these darke caues Hanniball hid. v. thou-
sand footemen and horsemen: notwithstanding
standing least the noyle or the bryghtnes
of the harneys might happen to discouer
his deceyte, he sente a fewe in numbre
the next morning to take the soye sayd hill
whereby he withdrew the eyes of his e-
nemis from loking to that place of em-
buschemente. Whan the compayne that
went to the hil were perceiued by the Ro-

The warres betwene the
mynes, to be so fewe in number they set
nought by the, & euery man coueted to go
to drine their enemies from that hil. And
also the Capitayne no lelle folslyshe then
they, called his men to harneys, threatening
his ennemis with wayne wordes.
Fyrst he sent light harnessed yong men
then he sent forth horsemen, which were
a great compayne: laste of all, him selfe
coumeth hym with his whole armye. And as
Anniball sawe occasion, and the battaile
encrease, he sente euer of his men both
footemen & horsemen, to succour his peo-
ple, so that the battaile was furnished on
both partes, and wared very strong.
The Romaines were thought to be of a
great boldenes and courage, and shoulde
haue done well, if the battaile had bene
equallit handled, they were so encouraged
with their late victorye: but sodaynely
came those that were hydde in the caues
forth on the, makinge great clamour and
rumoure on their sides & backes, so that
they surprised with feare, had neither har-
nes to fight, nor hope to flye. Than Fa-
bius first hearing the noise, and after se-
ing the host troubled a farre of. Fortune
(sayd he) hath caught their folly, no soner

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 61
than I feared it woulde, nowe he that is
loyned with Fabius in the empire, hath
sound Annibal ouer hard for him, both in
power, and also in Fortune. But it is
not nowe time (sayd he) to chide, I wil re-
serre that, till more oportunitie. Than
caused he his men to display their baners
beyond the valey, and in good aray came
forwarde to the helpe of his felowes, se
whych some were fled, and some ready to
fle, so that they all thought, that he came
as it were one sent from heauen to theyz
succours. And before he shoulde come to
the casting of dargets, or to hande strokes,
Anniball called backe his men from cha-
sing any further their enemies that fled,
and sodaynelye withdrew him to his
campe, sayeng, that he had overcome Mi-
nutius, but that he was also overcome of
Fabius. Than many of the Romain ar-
mie, that by fleeing were scattered & spar-
kled abrode, ranne to the hoste of Fabius
many other that did flee before theyr ene-
myes, tourned agayne to theyz compa-
nye: so that there was almoste one bat-
tayle of theym that were overcome, and
of them that ranne to their succours.
Than the most part of the day was spet
vnder

The warres betwene the
vnder the variable standerde of fortune,
and that the hostes were come to they
owne tentes. Minutius (his souldiours
minutius bring gathered about him) sayde.
Ofaction.

" des heard saye, that he is most wyse that
" can geue counsayle , and tell what is to
" be done in his busines. and that he is
" next wise, that can obey him that geueth
" good counsayle : but he that can neyther
" geue good counsayle him selfe: nor obeys
" other mens counsayle, is of al oþer most
" abiect and foolishe. Nowe therefore, se
" yng that the syste of these giffes fortune
" hath dennyed vs, let vs kepe the seconde,
" and whiles we learne to rule, let vs pur
" pose with our selues to obeye them that
" be wyse. Wherfore let vs ioyne our ten
" tes with Fabius: and whē ye shall heare
" me salute him as my parent and father,
" you likewise shal salute his souldiours
" as your noble patrons, by whose stregh
" and hardines this day ye are preserued.

¶ Thus incont'nenit they remoued they
campe, and wente to the campe of Fabi
us, wherof he marueyled not a litell.
Whan theyz legions were mette toge
ther, and salutations had, after longe
protesta

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 63
protestacion made by Minutius to Fa
bius, they toke eyther other by the han
des, and the souldyours lykewylle enter
taining gentilly the one the other. There
Minutius submitted him and his men to
be vnder the protection of Fabius, re
signinge cleane the auctoritee of the em
pyre and rule into his handes, whiche he
accompted to be to hym a burthen rather
than honour: desyring him that he might
be agayne in the office of the mayster of
horsmen, as he was before. Whan this
was knowen at Rome , and affirmed to
be true, not only by the letters of the ca
pitaynes , but also of the souldyours of
both partes, the praise of Fabius was e
leuate to the heauens, and he had no lesse
praye of Annibal and hys hoste, who as
than felte , that they had to doe with the
Romaynes, and that they kept warre in
Italy. For the two yeres past, they so lit
tell dyd esteime bothe the Capitaynes of
Rome, and also the souldiours, that they
coulde scarsely beleue, that they foughte
with those people, whome they had hard
of theyz fathers, were so much to be doub
ted. And it was sayde, that Anniball go
yng from the battayle dyd saye, that than
at

The warres betwene the
at lengthe the cloude, whiche houered
longe on the highe hylles, sent downe his
perillous storne.

COf Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and. C. Terentius Warro consules, and the oration of
M. Fabius Maximus to Paulus, before his departinge from Rome, toward his host. Capt. xxi.

Not longe after Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and. C. Terentius Warro were chosen consules. And after that al other officers were chosen, the army was augmented, to every legion a thousand footemen and one hundred horsemen. What the number was of the newhost is scarcely agreed amonge wryters. Some holde, that they were of the Romaynes. lxxxvii. M CC. whan the battayle was holden at Cannas. C. Terentius, before he departed the citee, openlye made dyuers orations, wherein he declared, that the warre in Italy was through certayne of the noble men of the cytee, whiche warre shold longe tyme contynewe among them, yf they shuld haue many such capitaines as

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 64
M. Fabius was. For yf he had done his deuoppe as a good capptayne, Anniball had bene subnected longe before. But he promyzed, that he woulde end the warre the same daye that he shoulde synt meets wyth hys ennemye. And the nexte daye before that they departed oute of the cytee, Lucius Aemilius hys felow made also one Oration to the people, whiche was moore trewe thanne thanckefull vnto the Cytezens: In the whiche he spake nothyng agaynst Terentius Warro hys felowe, but that he mervayled, howe anye Capptayne beyng in the citee, shold know, what he shold doe whan he were armed in the field, before he knewe other hys owne hoste, or the hoste of hys ennemyes, and the place where they shold fight, or the nature of the region or countrey: and how he could appoynt his spedie the daye, wherein he shoulde fighte wytb his ennemis. After these words, whan he was redy to depart with his compaune, Fabius stayng him for a season, said to him as foloweth.

If thou, good Lucius Aemilius, were matched with a felowe, that were lyke unto thee, or yf thou were lyke unto thy felow:

The warres betwene the
felowe, than were myne oracyon all in
baine, whych I wyll no we make for you
both, beyng good consuls, wolde work
substantially and truelye for the common
wealth, although I wolde styll holde my
peace. Againe, yf bothe you were euill
Consuls, than wold neyther of you heare
my words, nor receiuue my counsaile, bat
knowyng the goodness as I doe, and also
the condicions of thy compaynon, I per-
ceyue, that thy goodness shall littel auaise
the common welthe, through the folye of
thy felowe: so that the common welthe
dothe halte, and is halfe lame on the one
part: wherby euil counsel shal take place,
as wel as good counsel. Wherfore to the
onely now is mine oracion, warning the
before to be sure, that thou shalte haue as
much warre with thy felowe Terentius
as with Annibal. And I know not, whe-
ther of them wyl bee more deadly enne-
mye to the. For thou shalte onely fighte
with Annibal in the field, but wyth thy
felowe thou shalt haue continuall warre
in all places, and at all times. Wher-
on Annibal thou shalt fight with thy men both
on horsebacke and on fote, but Marro wil
assayle the with thine owne men. I pray

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 65
the remember. C. Flaminius, who be-
inge consul, and hauyng hys men aboute
 hym in his hoste, beganne to ware mad.
 This man, bothe before he was made
consull, and now being consul, cuen here
in the senate house, before he see his field
or his ennemye, is al redy madde. And
 he that thus p;rateh amenze the Sena-
tours, what frowe you wyll he do, whan
he shal be in the field amenze a sorte of
freshe yonge souldyors, where with one
word speakyng, all the matter shalbe
tried. But in case he make sped to fight,
as he saith he wyll doe, eyther I knowe
not what belongeth to the warres, or els
we are lyke to suffer greater lesse than
we had at Trasymenus. There is but
one waye to mayntaine warre agaynst
Annibal: whych way I haue perceyued,
and none other waye shal be founde so
good to make hym weery of Italye. We
be in our countrey, hauing citees & feight-
ful felowes about vs, redy to helpe vs at
all tymes with horse, harneys, vitayles,
and all other necessaries. Annibal on the
other syde is in a straunge countrey a-
monge hys ennemyes, farre from home,
farre from his countrey, he loketh for no
peaces.

The warres betwene the
peace by sea nor lande, he hathe no cityn
to receyue hym, he hathe no thyng but
that he stealeth, and taketh by rapine, he
hathe scarcely the thrid parte of hys hoste
lefte, that he broughte ouer Iberus, mo
bee deade wþt famyne than with the
swoorde. And here with peyne maye he
seede those that be lefte on lyue. Wher-
soe never doubt, but in sittinge still, ye
shal overcome such an army, that dayly
decreaseth in strengþt, and cannot be sur-
nyshed of suche thynges as they lacke.
This is the onely waye to illade & moche
with your ennemis. Marro desireth bat-
tayle, and that is also Anniballes desyre,
Wherfore thou alone muste nedes wyl-
ly stay agaynst them bothe, and regards
not the fame and rumoure, that shall be
spoken of the: Lette not the bayne glore
of thy felowe, nor the false name of that
shal be reised of the, moue the to þ cõtra-
rye. Suffer thy selfe to be called feare-
full slowe and vnskylfull of the warre.
Better it is to be feared of thy wylle en-
emye, than to be prayzed of thy foolyshe
company. Yet I wolde not, that nothing
shoulde be done, but that if thou doe anye
thing, do it soberly and accordyng to rea-
son,

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 66
on, not rashely, trustyng to fortune, so-
þw not the occasyo that thy enemys wyl-
lere the. And be not ouer hasty. For hast
þ blynde, and woxketh vnsurely.
To these and other his wordes the con-
suls answered lyttel, but sayde they were
more true than easye to be folowed, but
one thinge he wolde professe, that hys
mynde and desire shoulde be to haue all
thynges come well to passe, but in case
any thyng dyd other wyse happen than
wel: he wolde rather put him selfe in the
daunger of his ennemis weapons, than
in the exclamacion of his owne angry ci-
tizens. With these wordes he departed
out of the citee, and wente to the campe
with his hasty compayon.
Anniball although he saw the Romayne
army encreased by the halfe, yet conside-
ryng the newe consulles, he was verye
joyful, thynking that he myghte by some
traine bryng them to myschiese: his vy-
tailes began to be scant, wherfore he sent
a good number of men to get them corne
and cattell, but as they roued abrode vna-
vysedly, the Romaynes invaded theim,
and slewe a. viii. and. viii. C. of them, wþt
þe losse of. C. of theyz me. Tha wold the
Romaynes

The warres betwene the

Romaynes haue folowed the reste in chasse, had not Paulus the consull commaunded the contrary, whose turne was to rule the hoste that day. For it was before agreed betwene them, to gouerne the armie, the one one day, and the other the nexte daye, and so by tourne. Than wen the souldyours very angry toward Paulus, saynge to Marro theyr capytayne, that if he had not letted them, they had not failed to haue beaten Hannibal from his campe, and also oute of Italye. Hannibal was not so sorwe for the losse of his men, as he was gladde, that the Romaynes were in suche delyte and ioy of theyr smalle vycorye. Wherefore he esteemed the angry consul to be redy to take any bayte that he wold laye for hym.

C Of the perylous battayle of Cannas, and the vycory that Anniball had there of the Romaynes. Cap. xxii.

He nexte nyght he remoued his hoste on the further syde of a greate byll, nere adioyninge. There he sette his footemen in arraye on the lefte hande: on the righte he set

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et his horsemen: al the cariage he put in the middes betwene theim. He lefte his campe stored with mucche stuffe and bagage, to the intente that when the Romaynes were busy in spoylling the tentes he woulde sodaynelye and unwares oppesse theyrn. And to couer his crafte the better, he made greate fires aboue the campe, before he went, that it shoulde be thought, that they woulde not haue the Romaynes ware of their stealing away, till they were passed farre oute of their daunger. And as he thought to begyle, so had it happed in dede, hadde not Paulus stayed his men from runninge thither in such hast: and also had not two psoners which were taken before by the Carthaginenses, escaped the same morning, who came to the Consulles and declared unto them, that the whole armie of the Carthaginenses, abode in arraie on the other side of the hill, readye to battayle.

Whan Anniball perceyued his deuise to be knownen, he retourned agayne to his tentes, where he taried but a shorte space for lacke of vitayles and for barrennes of the countrey. Therfore he retournid towarde the countreye of Naples, a more

The warres betwene the
Warne and plenfull countrey, pitch-
ing his cappe nere vnto Cannas. In pitch-
ing of which his campes, he wisely consider-
ed the winde to be in the Northeast, that
furallye in die ground driveth the po-
wer and dust into the ayre, making it trou-
blous, darke, and clodye. Wherefore
he so incamped him selfe, that his back
was towarde the wynde, to the intent
when he shold haue to do wryth his en-
mies, the duste shold blinde theyr eyen
so that they shold be much hindred ther-
by. The Consulles followinge the Ca-
thaginenses were come to Cannas.
And when they apperceyued their en-
mies in theyr sighte, they pitched their
campes, euery Consull by him selfe, and
dividid theyr armes to euerye Consul
his parte. There was a riuier called Au-
sidius, rennyngge besyde both theyr cam-
pes, at the whiche bothe the hostes, no-
wythoute syghtyngge and skyrmishyng
as they had tyme and space watered their
horses and cattell.
Anniball lykyng the place wel for ho-
men to syght in, wherin restid his most
trust and chyse strength, thought to pro-

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 69
ke the Consulles to battayle, and to
yre theym thereto, he came towarde
eym in good arraye, and caused thys
xemen to runne to and fro, almooste to
the tentes of the Romaynes, byddyng
eym base. By reason whereof there a-
sche greate discorde amonge the Romay-
nes, and the consulles also. For Paulus
it minding to fight with them at theyr
reasures, did wylly obiecte vnto Marro
the foolyshe hardinesse and lacke of dis-
cretion of Hengionns and Flammis-
ns. Marro contrarie wyle layde vnto
in the example of Fabius, whome he
reckened amonge the fearefull and slowe
pitaines, professing to the goddes, and
so to men, that it ought not to be layde
into his charge, if Anniball shoulde take
talye, and holde it as his owne: Heynge
hat he, and also his souldiours, beyng
hoste desyrous to syghte, were withhol-
den there fro by his felowe. Paulus like-
wise professed if anye euill did happen to
hem and to their souldiours, that he
would be cleare and innocent of the tres-
asse, saying that he trusted, that such as
were so busyn, wch theyr younges shoulde

fiende as hardy also with theyz bandes
battaille. And whiles they stalled the tyme
in contention and debater Anniball sent
a certayne of the Pumidians to assay
the Romaine hoste, that were watering
theyz cattell on the other side of the river
on which side certayne of the Romaynes
lay also encamped in small campes, whiche
at the syrst they droue awaie, and caused
them to flee, pursuing them even to their
tentes, where with the Romaynes were
greatly displeased, so that they would
continente haue passed the river to give
battaille, hadde it not chaunced that day
Paulus to be ruler of the army, who com
maunded the contrarype.

Varro the next day, whē his turne cam
to rule, without the counsel of his felowe
passte the riuer with his army, and Paulus
folowed. For although he did not al
lowe his felowes intent and purpose, yet
he thoughte to helpe him the best that he
micht. Then set they theyz battalles
wyre after this maner. On the right
wynge, whiche was towarde the water
side, they set the Romaine horsemen, and
afterward the footemen: and on the left
hande they sette the straunge horsemen,

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that came to theyz succours, and than also
the foote men straungers. In the mid
dell they set thowvers and archers ioyned
to the Romayne legions. And the syrst
battaille was ordeyned of the residue of
straungers that hadde on lighte harneys
and nimble. The two wynges the Cou
silles gouerned theym selues, the leste
wyngie was committed to Terentius,
the right winge to Paulus, and the mid
dell warde to C. Heruilius.

Anniball no lesse busy then they, the next
morning folowinge, with his lighte har
neyed people, passed ouer the river; and
then the other of his hoste folowed: but
ever as they were come ouer the water,
he put them in good araye. The frenche
horsemen & Spanyardes were set nyghe
the banke on the leste hande, agaynst the
Romaine horsemen, & the middell warde
was of the footemen. The Africane, in
whom was his greatest trust, were assig
ned to be on bothe sides of the frenche
men and Spanyardes, to kepe them in.
These Africane for the moste parte,
were thought to be of the Romayne host
because of theyz armidure that they had
on, whyche they before had taken, of the
Romaynes

The warres betwene the
of the Romans, bathe at Trebia, and
Trasimenus. The noumbre of the host
was reckened to be. xl. M. foote men, and
x. M. horsemen. Hasdruball governed the
leste wyng. Maharhall the right wyng,
and Anniball with his brother Mago,
kopte the middel battayle. The Romains
were tourned toward the South, and the
Carthaginenses toward the North.
The southwest winde was the vp which
blewe the dusse, that with steringe of the
people, arose into the eyes of the Romay-
nes, and that blinded them very soze.
Anone with great rumour the foewe-
des began the battels. And then the leste
wyng of the Frenchmen and Spaniardes,
and encountred the right wynges
the Romayns, not after the maner of the
battayle of men of armes on horsebacke,
because they lacked roume and space, the
were so enclosed on both sides: vpon the
one side wyth the river, and on the other
the foote men letted theym, so that they
coulde none other wise do, but runn
streyghte one vpon another, and like
wastlyng on horsebacke one fugge with
an other, and with force dwalve one an-
other of theys horse backes, so that the

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 70
while it was more like a battaile of foot-
men then of horsemen. This conflycte
was vehement, but it endured not long:
The Romaines being put to the worse,
incontinent left the battayle and fledde.
Whan the horsemen had done, the foote
men began the battaille, whiche endured
very long. The Frenchmen and Spany-
ardes were long of like courage. The Ro-
maines tooke great paine in breaking tho
middell fronte of their ennemis, whiche
they apperceived to be moste thinne and
weake, which when they had brought to
paue, and whan those that kept the fore-
wardes, with force, were put to vtterance
and were fled to the Africanes, than fol-
lowed the Romaines without resistance,
so a season, til at the last they were come
betwene the two winges of the Africane,
vnto the Frenchmen and Spaniardes. Thus the Romaines without o-
dre & unwiseley rushed into the prelle.
The the Africane extred their winges
compassyng and enclosinge theyr enne-
mies behynd theyr backes. Wherfore the
Romaines leauinge to fighte with the
Frenchmen & Spaniardes, began a fresh
battaile againſt the Africane, whiche was

The warres betwene the
not onelye unluckye by reason they were
enclosed on al partes, but also they being
very enterprised a newe battail against
the that were fleshe and unsought with
al. And whiles they fought thus on soote
the winge of the Numidyan horsemen,
wherof Hasduball was capitayne, rouned
also wyth the Romaines right wing
of horsemen. The battaille was strong
on both partes, but the Carthaginenses
used greate subtiltee, so at the firste
counter, about fifti hundred of the
Numidian horsemen, having swordes secre
lye hid under theyr harneis, besides thos
that thei did vse to occupy, turning their
targettes behind theyr backes, making
as though they had forsaken theyr com
panie from theyr company, and ranne
their enemies, and lepatinge besides their
horses, caste theyr swordes and other
paraunt weapons at the foote of the Ro
maynes, as yelde persons: whereupon
they were receyued fyrt into the mide
of the Romayne hoste, and anone ther
were broughte to the viter & hindermost
warde, & there commaunded to stand
the ende of the battaille. And whan the
battaille began on all partes, they too

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 71
tyl without fighting, but after whā they
alwe that every man was busyed and oc
cupied with fighting, than drawing forth
theyr swordes from under theyr harneis,
they toke the shieldes of them that were
slayne in the syelde, and rushed on the
backes of the romains, and so hewing on
theyr backes, and hammes behinde, they
made a great slaughter. And whiles that
some parte conceyued feare and fledde,
and some other mayntained the battayle
with small hope of victooye, Hasduball
lente a greate parte of the Numidians to
chace and distroye the Romaines as they
fled. Paulus the consul, although he was
deadlye wounded before, yet manye ty
mes with his compaune restored and re
newed the battayles, wyth the helpe of
the Romain horsemen, who at length a
lighted from theyr horses, and fought on
soote: the Consulle for seblenes and ble
ding, being not able to gouerne his horse
Than the Carthaginenses, seinge that
theyr enemies had rather die in the field,
than flee: incontinent slewe those that
they couldc not make to flee: some they
toke, and the other that were overcome,
beyng than sparkeled abrode, toke such
horses

The warres betwene the
houses as they coulde get, and beganne to
flee. C. Lentulus a Tribune, leading an
empty hōse in his hande, as he fled saw
Paulus the consull lytting on a stōne, al-
couered with bloud, to whom he sayde:
Lucius Aemilius, whom the Goddes
shoulde take and esteem as innocent
of this cruel slaughter, take this hōse, whi-
les any strenght is left within the. And
I byeng thy frend, shall lyfte the vp, and
kepe the on, leste thou make this battaille
bolesful and sowowfull through the death
of a counsull, wþthoute whyche verelie
there is cause of weeping and mournyng
enoughe. Wher unto the consull answere-
red: C. Cornelius, be thou increased in
vertue, but beware leſt whiles thou doest
bewaile this chaunce, thou haue small
tyme to eſcape thy ſelfe: Go thou therfore
and hydde the Senate, that they make
strong the walles of Rome, and strength-
it with ſuccours, before the conquerour
come: And ſecretly ſhewe unto Quintus
Fabius, that Lucius Aemilius Paulus
doth ſymely remember his preceptes,
and lyuet in them, and finally dyet in
them. And I pray the, ſuffer me to paſſe
the lyfe amouge theſe compayne of my
deade

Romaynes and the Carthaginies. 72
deade knyghtes, leſte by lengar iuyngē
become an acculer of my ſelowe, defen-
yngē myne innocence by the trespassē of
moþer, and yet at length die, taken ſau-
tye of this deede.
The company of them whiche fled, trode
the Consull vnder ſcote, and after hys
enemys, not knowyng who he was,
byd ouerpresse hym. There was ſlaine at
that battaille forty thouſande footeſmen,
and two thouſande and ſeven hundred
houſemen, in which company was ſlaine
one of the consulles, with foure ſcore Sen-
atours, and ſuche as hadde borne greate
office in the citee, whiche voluntarye
gave them ſelues to that battaille. Fur-
thermore xxi. that hadde borne office of Tri-
bunes, besides that in that battaille were
taken. iii. thouſand footeſmen, and. iii. hun-
dred houſemen. Of the Romaynes that
escaped by fleyng. vii. thouſande came in-
to the ſmaller campe, and. x. ii. fledde to
the greater campe. And whan the bataille
was finyſhed, thofe Romayns that were
retourned to the greater campe, ſente to
the other, whyche were in the leſſe
campe, to repayre vnto them in the night
whyle they enemys, being wary of tra-
uayle

The warres betwene the
nayle, and soyfull of theyz diccorpe, wen
geuen to take theyz rest, but they doubted
to take on them that enterpryse, saiyng
that it were as meete that they of the
greater campe should come to them: but
that for the daunger of passyng the hoste
of theyz ennemis they were afard to doo.
Thus the most refused to goe ouer
the campe, notwithstandinge suche as
were hardy and valiant, by the great and
noble exhortacyon of P. Sempronius
Tuditanus, a tribune, issued ouer, and
came through their enemis in the nyght
with theyz shieldes on the ryghte syde to
warde the hoste of the Carthaginenses
wherby they passed by them, receiuyng
the arrowes and dartes that were shott
at them, upon theyz sayde shieldes, and
so came to the greate campe, to the num
ber of .iii. M. vi. C. and from thense to
kyng with them many of the other
of that compayne, escaped at theyz
pleasure to Cannusium. The
other consult, with .i.
horsemen, fled
to Venu
sia.

Hoste

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 73
How Anniball ordered hys busynes after the
battayle, and howe yonge Scipio vsed hym
selfe, for the sauage of the common
wealthe. Capit.xxiii.

He battayle thus ended, divers
of the army came to Anniball,
and wylled hym to reste al that
daye, and the nyghte after hys
great labour: but Maharball was there
with nothinge contented, saiyng: you
shoulde now incontinent with your horse
men, folow the Romans to come in such
spede, that they shall knowe ye be al ready
come, before they heare of youre coming:
And thus doryng, the conclusyon wyl be,
that within fyue dayes ye shal like a con
queroure dyne in the capytoll of Rome.
Than sayd Annibal: The way is longe,
and we had nede of counsayle or we
undertake so great an enterpryse. At length
he allowed the herte and noble courage
of Maharball: but he sayd, he wolde deli
verate vpon that enterpryse. Than an
swered Maharball: The goddes haue not
geuen all thinges to one man: thou canst
well overcome thine enemies, Anniball,
but whiche the vcytory is gyuen to the, thou
canste

The warres betwene the Romaynes
canst not bise it. And it was thought, that
the same ouer dayes resle and slackenes,
was the cause of the sauergard of the cite
of Rome, & also of all the whole empire.
Anniball, after that he had rested the
fyrt night, sente his people to the syelde,
to see whether anye of theyr ennemyes
shulde reuyne agayne, and as they sawe
or perceyued any like to redouer, he was
incontinent slayne: and he proceded and
roke the campes, and all them that were
in them. Therein was a greate number
of men, for beyng afraid to folowe theyr
companye, they remayned styll in theyr
campes. And he was contented, that the
captives shold be rausomed, every one
after his degree, the Romaynes. iii. C.
peses of syluer: other that rame to theyr
succours and of Italy. ii. C. and theyr ser-
vantes for i. C. Whiche money beyng
ones payde for theyr redempcyon, they
shuld haue liberty to go to theyr countreis
This done, he caused the deade bodyes of
his owne hoste to be searched and bury-
ed, whych were to the noumber of eightie
thousand, amonge whiche he caused the
body of the consul to be buried.
There was a certaine wooman of a no-
ble

Romeynes and the Cartthaginenses. 74
ble kynted called Busa, whych succoured
the Romaynes that were fledde to Can-
nusum, both with meate, drinke, clothe,
and other necessaries, for whiche deepe,
the warre beyng fynysched, shee was
had wyth the Romaines in great honoꝝ.
There were that tyme in Cannusum.
iii. Tribunes, whych were Fabius Mar-
cius the yonger, and Lucius. P. Bibu-
lus. P. Cornelius Scipio, and Appius
Claudius Pulcher, they all, by the assent
also of the other scouldyours, gaue the
whole rule and gouernance of the whole
company of the Romaynes, whych were
there, to. P. Scipio, beyng than verye
yonge, and to Appius Claudius: To
whom, wha they were consulting amog
other for the profite of the commonwelth
P. Furius Philius sayde, that theyr
Counsel was but in bayne, for to restoꝝ
and bring againe that, which was vter-
lye losse: And that the common wealthe
was deserfe and cleane subuerted: ad-
uysynge the noble yonge men to folowe
the purpose of Lucius Cecilius Metellus
and to take hym as theyr gouernor, who
was redy, with many other wyth him, to
depart y citie in hast, takinge their shippes
which

The warres betwene the

whiche were purposely ordeined for them
and by the sea to flee ouer to some pwyng
or kyng for succour. Whiche cruel coun-
sell sodeinly geuen after theyr great los-
and misfortune, made theim verye feare-
full and in greate doubt what they shuld
doe: in so muche that many, beyng then
present, thought to deliberate on the mat-
ter. Whych deliberacion yong Scipio
lect by desteny to synish the same warre
against the Carthaginenses) denied and
dyspysed. We must (sayth he) be bold, and
valyantly enterpryse thinges in so great
a myschiese, and not stande longe consul-
tyng upon them. Wherfore he comman-
ded, that so many as wold haue the com-
mon welthe safe, shoulde goe wyth him ar-
med. And than he with a fewe solowyng
hym, wente to Metellus lodgyng, wher
syndynge an assemble of yonge men
coniuracion vpon the deuide of Furcius
Philus, before declared, he helde hys na-
ked swarde ouer theyr heades, and said
wyth my whole mynde and wyll, I
swear that I shall never leaue the com-
mon welthe of the citee of Rome, nor shal
suffer any citezien of Rome to leaue it.
And if I wyllingly be false, than I pray

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses.

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he myghtye and omnipotent Jupiter, to
wyf my house, my familie, and all my
oodes wyth most villest destruction.
Which oþre I require of the Luctus Ce-
stius, and of all other that are here pre-
ente. And he that will not sweare the
ame, let him knowe, þ my naked sworde
hall passe through him. All they beinge
so leße scared wyth his wordes, than if
Anniball had bene present, toke the same
the, and committed theym selues to the
mercion of Scipio.

While these thinges were done at Ca-
nusium, there were gathered together a
bout. iii. M. horsemen and footemen, and
were come to Tenuisia, wher the Con-
sull Harrs was, with Irbische compayne
the Consull came to Canusium, and ha-
ving so great a nûbre abut him thought
him selfe able to defend them selues and
the citee from Anniball.

Of this great losse in the battayl, newes
was broughte to Rome, wythoute anye
mention of slayinge of the saide numbre,
hat were with the Consul: but that euer
man was slayne, and no Roman lefte
on live. Which newes caused as greate
feare and rumoure in the citee, as euer

The warres bee wene the
Was heard there before : In so much that
it was bruted abrode, that neither Cap-
tayne nor souldiour was leste in the Ro-
mayne campes, and that almost all Iu-
lye was yelde to Anniball. Therfore
they lokeb every houre when their ene-
mies woulde come to besiege the citee of
Rome. Wherupon the Senatours pa-
paved at Rome, al thinges necessary for
the succours of the citee. Then they ap-
peined their legions & officers. Marcius
Junius, by the hole consent of the senat,
was chosen Dictatour, and Litus Sem-
pronius mayster of the horsemen. Then
was also by the same auctoritee chosen
iii. legions, and a thousand horsemen
yong men, of the age of. xvii. yeares,
besides that they sent to theyre frendes in
other places of Italy, that they also shoul-
d prepare souldiours of the same sort, with
horse, harneys, and all other necessaries.
The citee thus beinge in extreme feare
letters came from the consul Terentius
to Rome, certiffieng the Senate of the
losse of the battaille, and of his felowe
other Consul. And howe he with the los-
inges of the hoste, that escaped at the
battaile, were at Cannus, to the num-

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 78
er of ten thousand men. Which newes
somewhat comforzed the heartes of the
cittens.

Howe let vs retourne to Anniball, who
being busied aboute his prisoners, suspen-
ded ten of the Romayne captives, in the
name of all the other, to ga to Rome, to
see if the fathers conscript, or any of their
riendes woulde redeme them and theyr
company that were prysoners : desiringe
of these tenne messangers none other ser-
vantes, so i the yz retourne, sauyng theyz
the. Whith whom he sent a noble baron
of Carthage, to the intent, that it shoulde
appe them to intreat of peace he might
bring the condicions therof wryth hym:
The pycce of the redemptien of a Ro-
mayne horseman was fyue hundred pe-
ces of siluer, called quadrigatis, so named
or that the coyne bare in it the pycnte of
chariot: The pycce of a Romayne cap-
taine was three hundred: the price of a ser-
auante was one hundred: All other pri-
soners of Iffalye, that came to the helpe
of the Romaynes, he let go free to theyr
ountreies without ransome. And whiche
it was shewed the councell, that they
were come to come, a messenger met this

The warres betwene the
baron of Carthage, whose name was
Carthago, and shewyd hym that the Du-
toure commaunded, that he shoulde de-
parte from the boundes of Rome, besy
the night.

Sooone after the Senate or parliament
was holden for the captiues messanger
where one of them, that was of most au-
thoritee, thus began to saye and openly
pronounce his oration.

CTHE oration of the captiue prisoners made
to the Senate for theyr redemp-
tion. Cap. xxiii.

It is not unknowen to you all
(Fathers conscripte) that there
was never moare wretched and
vile prisoners to any citee, than
haue bene to this our citee. Notwithstan-
ding vñles we stande verye muche in our
owne conceyce, there were never so
maines taken prisoners in warre, which
were lesse worthye to be displeased vñ
you, than we be nowe. For truly we dy-
not yelde vñ our harneys and weapon
in battel for feare as cowardes, but wil
it dye we towarde night, standyng vpon
heape

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 77
eapes of deade bodies, we withdrew
rom the battaile, and went to our tents
where as we beinge both wearye with
labour and soore wounded, kepte oure sel-
ves in safegarde the residue of the daye
and night folowing. The next daye, wher
we perceyued that we were inclosed and
constrayned with the hoste of oure enne-
mies, wantyng also, water, and seynge
no hope of escapinge through the thycke
host and company of our ennemys, and
consideringe that it were wisedome, and
not soundinge to dyshonour, seynge that
lyfthe thousand were slayne of oure com-
panye, that some shoulde be lefte of oure
souldiours at this battaile alyne: We
han in conclusion agreed wyth them for
our raunsome, that we might be deliue-
red. And then we yelde vñ our weapons
which could litell preuaile vs. We haue
heard that our clers were redeemed from
the Frenchmen, yea and our fathers be-
ing most sterce and hardy were gladd to
send to Tarent for condicions of peace,
because of redemyng theyr captiues, but
in Italye wyth the Frenchmen, and at
Heraclean with Pyrrhus, bothe the bat-
tayles were accompted wretched and ful-

The warres betwene the
of infamy, because of the cowardise and
fleinge of oure people, but so was it not
wyth vs. The deade bodyes do over-
spredde the fieldes at Cannas, neyther
had we escaped the deathe, but that by
our enemies, for merites in killing and
fleyenge, lacked both strengthe and wea-
pons. There be manye of vs, whiche ne-
uer came to battaile, but beinge leste to
kepe the campe, when the tentes wen-
yded, they likewise came vnder subjec-
tion to theyr enimies. Werelye I do not
envy the estate or fortune of anye citzen
or of my selwo in warre, neither would
I, that my fame shoulde be extolled and
rayed by the infamy of other, but truly
they ought to haue litel reward or pralle
vnlesse it be of the agilitee and swiftnes
of theyr fete, which beinge unarmied for
the moste part, fleing from battayle, ne-
uer crafed till they came to Venucia, or
Cannusium: yet do they preferre them-
selves before vs iustly and not without
a cause, as they thinke. Pea, and they re-
sponce and booke, that there remayneth in
them more succour and helpe to the com-
mon wealth than in vs. But we would
ye should receyue and take them as good

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 78
and strong men. And also to thinke vs to
be hereafter more prompt and willing to
maynteyne our countrey, by how muche
we maye be redeenied and restored into
the same by your benefites. We haue ta-
ken the muster of all your people of all a-
ges and sortes, and I here saye, ye haue
chosen. viii. thousand of your bende-men
to the warre, and there is of vs no lesse
a numbre, neyther will oure redeminge
cost any more then theyr bying will cost.
Truly if I should compare them, beynge
yngre seruautes and bende unto vs
Citizens and free, I shoulde greate iye
dishonour the name of Rone. But this
I would ye should remeber fathers con-
script, in such a counsell, if ye will be so
hard harted, as to refuse vs (which if you
do, you shal do without our deseruing) to
whiche of our enimies will ye comit vs:
to Pirrhus: or els to Anniball: in whome
it is hard to be iudged, whether doth re-
mayn more, craultee or auarice. If ye did
se the bandes and chaines, with whiche
your citizens are bounde, the fylthynesse
and deformitee, that they are in: certes
it woude no lesse moue and pitte you,
than if you sawe youre Legions lyenge
dead

The warres betwene the
dead, couering the feildes of Cannas, you
may behold the sorrow, heauines, and the
feares of our frendes and kinsfolke, stand-
ing at the porche of the Senate; tarieng
for your answere. And sens they be so sor-
rowfull for vs and for them that be ab-
sente in prison, what mindes woulde you
suppose those prisoners to haue, whose
life and libertee is in doubt, and hangeth
nowe in balance? Certainly if Anniball
contrarye to his owne nature, would be
mecke and gentle to vs, yet neuerthelesse
woulde not we desire to liue, in case we
shall bee thoughte of you oure noble fa-
thers, unworthye to be redeemed. Should
I desire the retourne into my countrey, if
being a citizen I shoulde not be esteemed
by you worth. iii. C. peeces of siluer? Let
every man do as he wil (fathers conscripsi)
I knowe my body and life to be in doubt
but the jeopardye of our name and fame
doth more moue and greue me, that we
shoulde be reckened vnto you as abiectes
and easies a way for there is no man that
will suppose you to spare our redempcion
for coste.

¶ When he hadde made an ende of his
oracion, there arose a greate noyse and
weping

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 79
weping amonge the people, bothe men
and women, that were frendes vnto the
sayde captiues, who helde their handes
towarde the Senatours, desyryng theim
to restore theyr bretherne and chyldren.
After many and dyuerse contrarye opyn-
ions had in the senate; some supposinge it
mete, that they shoulde bee redemed by th
the common treasure, and some contrary
T. Manlius Torquatus, a man of ouer
hard and cruel nature (as it was thought
to many) being desyred to shewe his sen-
tence and iudgement, began thus to say.

The soze answere of T. Torquatus to the
captiues oracion, wherein he dissuaded
their redempcion. Cap. xxv.

F :he legates, that were sente
hither for theredempcion of our
captiues, had al onely made pe-
tition for those, who are taken
prisoners, that they might be restored. I
wolde haue shewed my mynde brefelye,
without rehersal of anye of theyr feates,
for of what ought you rather to be admo-
nished, than to obserue the custome, left
by your fathers, as conceruyng busynes
of

The warres betwene the
of warre by example necessarye. But
wolde, because they alwaist reioysc and
glorye, that they yelde thaim selues to
theyz ennemyes, and thinke it were they
shoulde bee preferred not onelye before
those, whyche were taken psoners in
battayle, but also before those that esca-
ped to Venusia and Cannusium, ye and
before Terentius Marro the consule: I
shall declare unto you(fathars conscript)
all that was done there, ye and I wolle
to the goddes, that I myghte speake these
thynges, whiche I am about to shew unto
you, at Cannusium before the houle.
Whiche woulde be a sure wytnesse of
every mannes cowardise and sluggishnes
and also of theyz hardynes and vertue: o
els I wolle that Publius Sempzonius
were here presente, whom yf they had fo-
lowed, they had be now in sauagarde in
the Romayne tentes, and not captryues
with theyz ennemyes. For whan theyz
ennemyes were weerye of syghtyng,
and also reiosynge of theyz vctory, and
the moste parte of them retourned to
theyz tentes: they myghte haue hadde the
nyghtis free wythoute interrupcyon to
haue escaped. Merelye. vii. thousande ar-
med

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 80
ried me might thā haue escaped through
theyz ennemyes, takynge so lyttell heds
to them, but truely nother wold they en-
terprise this thinge thaim selues, noz fo-
lowe them that wolde take on them that
aduenture. All the nighte longe almoste
Sempzonius ceassed not to admonyshe
and exhort them, that they shoulde folowe
hym as theyz capptayne, whyles there
were but few of theyz ennemyes aboue
theyz tentes, whiles euery man was at
rest & silence, and whiles the nyghte dyd
couer and hide theyz purpose: Shewynge
them, that they shoulde come into sau-
garde, and to theyz frends before the day,
as by the memoriy of oure grandfathers,
Publius Decius dyd in Hannio, and
as Calphurnius Flamina, whan wee
were but yong men, dyd in the first war-
res Punicke to. iii hundred that willingly
folowed hym. Whan he hadde broughte
them to take a hyll, whyche was in the
myddell of theyz ennemyes. Let vs here
dye souldours (sayd he) & let vs through
oure deathe deliuer oure legyonis and ar-
mye, whyche are inclosed and besyged
by our ennemis. If Publius Semp-
zonius had spoken such wordes to you, & ye
none

The warres betwene the

None of you had ben of such hardyness
consent to hym, he myght haue supposid
you neither to be men, nor Romaines: but
he shewed you a muche moore easye way,
whiche wolde bryng you as well to glo-
rye and prayse, as to healthe and profyte.
He made hym selfe a capytaine and guide
to bryng you to your cuntrey, to your fa-
thers, to your wyues, and chyldren. But
you lacked audacie to folow him. What
would you haue done, yf he woulde haue
moued you to haue dyed for your country
Fiftye thousande citezens, and of your
frendes lay deade about you that daye in
the fielde. If the exaumples of hardynesse
and vertue of so many noble men, would
not moue you, there is nothing that ever
shall moue you: If such slaughter of your
frendes doth not cause you to haue smalle
cynamacion of your owne lyues, nothing
shall ever moue you thereto: You shold
haue desyred youre countrey, whyles yee
were free, safe and sound, yea you shold
haue desired it, whiles it was your coun-
trye, nowe doe ye desire it to late. Ye
be cleane separate from it. Ye are utterly
alienate from the ryght of the Citezens.
Ye are nowe made seruautes vnto the

Cartha-

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 81

Carthaginenses. Wyll ye bee redeemed
from thense, whither you wyllingly wet-
wyth cowardise, slownes and wycked-
nes: you woulde not here **Hempronius**
your citezen commaundynge you to take
harneys and to folowe hym, but sone af-
ter you hearde Anniball, commaunding
you to yelde your armoure and your ten-
tes: Whyn do I accuse (fathers conscript)
theyz slouthfulnes and cowardise, whan
I maye rather accuse theyz wycked and
abominable facte: they dyd not onelye
refuse his counsaile whiche was profita-
ble: but also they wente aboute to wyth-
stand hym, and to constraine hym to for-
sake the common welth: vñles noble men
with theyz naked swordes had put them
from theyz purpose. Publius **Hemproni-**
us was dryuen (I saye) fyrst to escape by
manful courage throughe those hys felo-
wes and citezens, and after throughe the
myddel of his enneimis. And shold this
citeen and countrey desyre the restitucyon
of such citezens, whome yf the resydue of
theyz felowes, who were at Cannas, had
folowed and bene lyke, there had no es-
sen ben lefte vs of those, whiche were at
the battell of, viii. M. men there were. vi.

C.

The warres betwens the

C. that aduentured to escape and to
tourne free with armiour to theyz coun-
try, nother dyd the hoste of theyz enne-
myes, whiche were. xl. M. men let b: hin-
der them: howe safe than myghte the two
armyes beyng joyned together hane
passed thynke you: whyche ys they hadde
done fathers conscripte, ye shoulde haue
had nowe. xx. M. stronge and hardy sou-
diours at Cannusium. But nowe howe
can these be acompted for good & faulthul
citezens (as for holde they wyl not call
them selfes) whiche had rather to lyve
kyngs in theyz tentes, and tarwe both the
daye and their ennemys, than to ende-
avour theym selues with theyz compayne
to escape awaie in the nighte: but seyng
that theyz hertes wold not serue them to
auoyde theyz tentes, was it lyke (trowe
ye) that they shuld haue hardynes to con-
serue and kepe the same tentes? They say
that where they were besyged for cer-
taine daies & nightes they defended them
selues, and at length, whan they had sus-
sered the extremitee, whan all the ne-
cessaries to theyz lyfe dyd fayle theym,
than they keptige ouerpressed wyth hun-
ger, could no lōger sustaine battaille. And
they

Romaynes and the Cartthaginians. 85

They saye they were rather overcome for
lacke of humayne necessyties than wyth
battaile. This greate war that ye speake
of, lastyng two dayes, was ended in two
bowes. Anniball came to the tentes be-
fore the sonne arose to whom wythout a
y battaille geue, or resisstance made, they
yelded by theyz weapons and theym sel-
ves. Whan they shoulde haue foughte in
the battaille, they fled to theyz campe, and
whan they shoulde haue defended theyz
campe, they norke profitable in the bat-
taille not in theire tentes, yelded by campe
and al. Should such a sort be redemeid? I
thinke them (fathers conscripte) nis mox
worthy to be redemeid, tha I thinke them
worthy to be yelded to Anniball, whyche
escaped from theyz tentes through the
myddel of theyz ennemis. And through
theyz great hardines restored them selues
to theyz countrey. Whan Manlius had
lyuyshed his oracion, although manye of
theym were of the kinred and aliance to
the senatours, yet the aunswere was ge-
uen them, that they shuld not be redemeid
And that for two causes, the one was for
the olde exaumple of the citee that hadde
ever lyttell fauoured the redempcyon of
captiue

The warres betwene the
captiue prysoneſ . And other was ,
greate ſome of money that muſt be paide
for them . Wherof they ſtreasure had bene
befoře made bare wyth manyfolde cha-
ges of warre . And alſo they were loth
that Annibal , than beyng nedy of mony
ſhuld with they ſubſtance be ſo greate-
enryched . Than began a new mourning
for the loſſe of the cyteſens . They folo-
wed the legates with great weyning and
ſorow to the gates . One of thofe tenne
Romyne meſſangers , that were ſent
from Annibal , after that his companye
departed towarde Rome , feignede that he
had leſte ſome thinge behynd hym , and
ſo returned to hys tentes , & in the night
ouertoke his companye , by whiche fraudu-
lente retourne , thinkynge hym ſelfe
quitte and diſcharged of his oþe , went
home to his owne house , and there re-
mayned ſtill , not returning to An-
nibal : but whan his untrouth was
knownen , he was taken and
ſent to the tentes of the Car-
thagineneſ , to doe wyth
hym they ſleaſure .

Romayneſ and the Cartagineneſ . 83
Hewe Pacciuſ by craſte became chiefe ru-
ler of Capua , and of the yeldinge of that
cittie to Annibal . Capi . xxvi .

Annibal after the battaile at
Cannas , with a great ſpeeđe
as he might , went from Apu-
lia to Saminium , and to Cotta
and ſo to Naples , but the ſtrength of that
owne made him afraide to goue auau-
erto . Wherefore he went from thence ,
and came to Capua , which as then flou-
riſhed in pleaſure & abundance by longe
felicitie & fauoure of fortune . Than was
there in Capua one Pacciuſ , a noble
man ſauinge that he gat not his goodes
and riches by honest meaneſ . This Pa-
cciuſ bare great office in the cittie the
ſame yeare that the Romaines loſte the
battaile at Trasimenus : And nowe thin-
king to make a diſcorde betwene the Se-
nate & the commoþ people , who long had
uſed great licence & libertie without rea-
ſon , and thereby to encreaſe both his au-
toxitie and ſubſtance , deuized a great and
perillous enterprize , whiche was , that ſo
ſoonē as Annibal ſhoule come thither
with his army , he would cauſe the com-
mons to ſlea the ſenatours : After whose
death

The warres betwene the
Death, he might at his pleasure yelde the
cittie to the Carthaginenses. Yet at the
last he considered, that better it were so
him to rule and governe a commō welch
flourishing in all thinges, then to rule a
cittie: y were utterly subuerted & distroyed
(whiche he accompted to be, if the noble
men & ancient counsellers, thereof were
slaine) he then imagined a waye, that he
mighþ both sauue the senate & counsell of
the cittie, & make the counsell of the same
to thinke them selues bounde to him & to
the common people. Wherupon he called
a counsayle, wherein he shewed the sena-
tors, that to receiue the Carthaginens-
ses, & to leauue the Romans frenship did
nothing please him, consideringe that he
had maried Appius Claudius doughter
& also that Lfius had maried one of his
doughters: sauing that necessitee did re-
quire it, because ther was other matters
in hand much moxe to be doubted, which
was, that the commune people were pur-
posed first to flee the all that were in the
Senate house, & after to yelde vp the ci-
tie to Anniball. Neuerthelesse he sayde,
he would vndertake that he woulde sauue
them from daunger, if they woulde com-
mit

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 84
mit theym selues wholpe to him: where-
wyth he made them great assurance by
othes. Et han they all, beinge ouercome
with feare, had consented to him, I wyll
shut you (sayth he) into the senate house,
as though I were of the commons coun-
sell, and did alowe theym deedes and pur-
pose: but after I shal finde a way to con-
serue and sauue you. When they were a-
greed to the same, he enclosed theym in
the counsayle house so that none coulde
come to them, nor they get forth vnlesse
it were by his licence. And then he called
the common people together, and sayde:
My frendes, nowe hane you power ouer
the detestable and wycked Senatoures,
whose death ye haue so long desyzed, and
that ye haue nowe myþout stroke try-
king. For beholde, I have them enclosed
in yonder house aboue unarmyd: And
what sentence ye wil geue of theym, or
anye of theym, that shall they suffer, ac-
cording to theym deserues. But before all
thinges, I wold you shoulde haue respect
to your health and profite, before the ex-
ecution of your wrath. For Senatoures I
am sure, ye wil haue to governing the citie
Therefore nowe haue we two things to
P. II. be

The warres betwene the
be done together, that is, to put downe
the olde senatours, & then to chose newe
I wil well, that you shal iudge what pu-
nishmente the olde shall haue: but first
you shal chuse a newe valiant wise sena-
tor in euery of their places. Then set he
downe & caused their names to be put in
writing into a pot, and as theyz names
were severallye drawen forth of the pot,
he caused them to be called in order, & he
that was first named, he caused to be set-
ched out of the senate house, wherin they
were inclosed. And whan the commons
herd his name, they all cried that he was
wicked, & worthy of punishment. Then
said Pacuvius, I here wel what you say
let him be cast out for nougnt, & another
chosen in his place. Than were they at
the first put to silence, because they wan-
ted a better to be chose in his place. And
wher any man would take vpon him to
say any other man: there would arysse
a greater rumour & nosse at his naming
Some sayeng, they knewe him not, and
some reprehendinge his birth, some his
maners, some the vilenes of his crafte &
lusing, w such other obiections: & muche
more the noise was soz choosing the secod
and

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 87
and thirde: so that they all agreed, that it
was rather better for theym to suffer the
old noughty senatours to remain wh ch
they knewe the to haue suche newe, as
were worse & vnknowen, so that they cō-
maunded to let the old senatours go free
and vse their roomes. After this maner
Pacuvius gat the rule of y cōmon welth
peasiblye, makinge the senatours muche
more bōūc to him, for sauing their lues
than to the commōs of the citee. And by
this mean by al mens consent he had the
hole gouernance of the citee. Of this
came the losse of the dignitee to the sena-
tors, forgettinge their libertee, dognge
nothing in the cousell house without the
cōmons advise. The citee was always
prone & geuen to lust & pleasure, not only
by the nougntines of theyz mindes, but
also by the abundance of pleasures, ry-
ches, & other delites, & of all frutesfulnes
both on sea and lande, and ware
through the flatterye of princes, & other
muche libertee of the people, folowinge
their pleasures and lust beyond all mea-
sure, so that they despised both the senate
and other magistrates, and also all rule
and lawe. And then after the battaile of

The warres betwene the

Cannas, they that had a litel shamefass
nesse before, were not ashamed to dispise
the emprise of Rome. And in shorte tyme
after, they consented to yelde vp the citie
to Anniball, & to leauue the amitee of the
Romās: yet before they wold send their
legates to Annibal, they sent messagers
to Rome, to desire that one of theyr citie
micht be euer one of the Consulles at
Rome, if they wold that they shuld helpe
them in their busines. Whereupon ther
arose greate indignation and anger, for
that they, that were before in amitie and
as subiectes, shoud require such equali-
tie of honour with the Romāns. wher-
fore they commaunded, that the legates
shoud be brought out of the senate house
& further they sent an officer, who shoud
conuaye them out of the citie, & to charge
theym to departe out of the limittes and
boundes of Rome. The same legates in
contynente bypon theyr retours home,
were sente to Anniball, who receyued
them, and graunted them all the condi-
tions of peace, accordyng to theyr al-
kinge, so that no ruler or magistrate of
Carthage shoud hereafter clayme rule
or dominion ouer any citizen of Capua,

neither

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 86
neither shoud any of them be enforst to
go in the warres, but at his owne plea-
sure. Agayne, that they micht kepe styll
their owne lawes, with their rules and
magistrates. Amongest whych requestes
they desired. iii. C. Romane captives to
be deliuered vnto them, whch shold be
chaunged for other. iii. C. of theyr horse-
men, that kepte warre in Sicilia, wh ch
was not denied them. To this agree-
ment, Decius Magius, a man of greate
auctoritee (sauinge that the commons
were not agreeable to him) didde vterlye
byh hand: syr willing that no legacye
shoud be sent to Anniball. And as soone
as he hearde, that the agremente was
made, and that Anniball wold send his
men of armes to Capua, he shewed the
for an erample, the proude reyninge of
Pirchus: and the miserable seruite of
the Tarentines, cryeng alowde, that if
they wold heare him, Anniballes army
shoud in no wise be received: And if they
were already receyued, that they shoud
be put forth agayne.
As soone as these thinges were shewed
to Hanniball (as they were not secretely
spoken) he commaunded, that Magus

should

The warres betwene the

should be taken and sente vnto him: but
then he fearing the displeasure of the peo-
ple, sent word to Marius the pretor, that
he would be at Capua, the nexte day fol-
lowyng. Marius incontinent assembled
the people, and shewed all men of Annis-
ballis coming, commaundinge them to
be ready with theyr wyyes to mete him.
And when he was comminge, and al the
cittie wente to mete him, onely Decius
with his sonne, and a fewe of his frends
woulde not go with them: but walked
openly and stubburnelye in the market
place. As soone as Anniball came to the
cittie, he called a countayle, myndinge in
his anger to do cruell execusion of his ad-
uersaries, notwithstandinge the rulers
of the cittie desired him that he shoulde do
nothing as that day, but be mery and ce-
lebrate the same in the worshippe of his
comming. To whose request (aloughhe
he was of a sodaine inclination to wrath
and anger) he was con'ormable: and
spent that daye in bewinge the cittie.
Maccius Calanus, of whom we spake
before, who was chiese of the cittie, and
chrefc causer of the yeldynge therof to
the Carthaginenses, brought his sonne

being

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 87
beinge a yonge man, thither, whome he
toke from the compayne of Decius, wyth
whom the yonge man stode firmelye a-
gainst the bandes and frendshyppe made
with the Carthaginenses: nother coulde
the citezens, beynge enclyned to that part,
nother the auctoritee of his father, moue
the yonge man to the same, vnto whome
his father, with great intercession, made
Anniball good lord and frend. Anniball
beynge ouercome and appealed wyth the
requete of hys father, caused the yongs
man, with his father, to be sent soz to sup-
per, at whiche supper there was none of
Capua, sauyng those that were lodged in
that house, and one Jubellius Laurea, a
noble warriour. The supper was begun
before the nyghte, the feast was sumptu-
ous, and not after the manner of fare in
warre time. This yonge man, nother by
the prouocation of the rulars, nor by the
cheringe of Anniball hym selfe, coulde be
perswaded to be mery, but he shewed hys
father, that he was diseased, and that his
minde was soze troubled. And whan hys
father heard that, he departed oute of the
feasting chaumber before the sonne was
sette: whome his sonne folowed. And
whan

The warres betwene the

Whā they came to the gardē, at the end of
the hōuse whiche was secret: father (saith
he) I haue deuised now a wāy, wherby we
shal not only purchase oure pardon of the
Romains, soz that we haue forsake them
and chosen Anniball to be our gouernour,
but we shall stande now from henceforth
in muche more dignytē and grace wyth
them, than euer we were before. Whan
his father (meruailing what it might be)
hadde inquyzed of hym that deuyse: he
cast his gowne from hym, and shewēd
hys side beyng gyzte wyth a swoorde:
Nowe wyll I (said he) establissh and sanc-
tifye the bandes betwyxt the Romaynes
and vs, with the bloudde of Annibal: Of
this counsayle Father, I thoughte to
make the priuye before, for because I
knewe not, whether thou haddeſt rather
be presente, whyles the deede were do-
yngē or not. Whychē diuyse whan the
olde man hearde (as thoughē he hadde
be presente at the doyngē of that which
was spoken) wyth greatte feare he be-
ganne to exhorte and perswade his sonne
to the contrary: layingne fynde the greates
oþer and promyse made to Annibal by all
the whole citee: & also shewynge the daunc-
get

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 88
ger of the act to be such, that he could ne-
uer escape aliuie, I beyng thy father (sayd
he) haue wonne Anniball to be thy good
lorde, and shall not I wynne my sonne to
be frende to Anniball? And after that
he hadde with longe p̄ayer, wepyngē,
and greate intercessyon ouercome hys
sonne, and dissuaded him from his enter-
prise, the yonge man sayd these wo-
des: O countrey, receyue thou thys
swoorde, wyth whiche I beyngē armed,
wold haue defended this citee and castel,
sparynge noȝ fearynge myne
owne death, but onely beyng ouercome
with my fathers perswasions. And whā
he had so sayde, he caste his swoorde into
the playne ouer the gardeynie walle, and
than because he shoulde not be suspecte, he
went againz to the feaste.
¶ The next daye the senate was holden,
in the whych Annibals first oracion was
verye gentyll, geuyngē thankes unto the
citezens, soz that they preferred hys amy-
tie and frendshyp before the Romaynes:
and among other hygh promyses, he pro-
mised them that Capua shoulde in
þorke space be the heade of all Italy: And
that the Romaines with other citees of
Italy,

The warres betwene the
Italy, shoulde seke unto Capua for they
ryghte and lawe: but he sayde, that there
was amonge them one named Magius
Decius, who was no thyng agreeable vnto
the amitee betwene the Carthaginens
ses and theim of Capua: who (he sayde)
was no cisteren, nor oughte to be so called
nor reputed. Wherfor he requyred, that
he myght be yelded vnto him, and that also
in his presence his cause myghte be de
bated before them of the counsayle. To
which request eurye man graunted, al
thoughe some thoughte he was a man
much unworthy to sustayn such mystry,
and that they libertee began to minyshe
not a lyttel in the beginning. The senate
was holden in the temple. Magius was
commaunded to be taken, and brought to
sheve his mattser, and he anone denied
it to be lawefull for them, to breake the
truce taken wiþ the Romaines: Where
fore he was commaunded to bee bounde
wiþ chaines, and led to the campe of the
Carthaginenses. In this leadynge thither,
as long as his face was not couered
he wente criyng to all them, which were
gathered together to see hym: Now haue
ye, men of Capua, your libertee, whyche
you

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 89
you desyzed: In the market place, and in
the daye lyght, and in the presence of you
all; I being chiefe and moste auncient of
Capua, beyng bound & drawen to death.
What could haue bene done more cruell
and violent, if Capua had be taken? wha
he could not be stayed, but contynued cri
yng after this maner, because the com
mon people were thoughte to be moued
with his wordes, his face and heade was
couered, and he was led quicklye oute of
the gates into the tentes of Annibal, and
from thense in haste sente towarde Car
thage by Shyppe, lest there shold be anye
sedicion moued for the same amonge the
Citezens: but in saylyng thither, the
Shippe was dryuen by tempeste to Cyre
nas, where Magius fled to the pycture of
Ptolomeus the kyng for his sanegarde.
Wherbypon he was brought by the ke
pars of the towne to Alerandria, before
Ptolomeus. And whan he had declared
vnto the king, that Annibal had sent him
bound, contrarye vnto the league & ban
des of the truce taken wyth the Citezens
of Capua: he was delyuered from hys
bandes, and had lybertee to goe whither
he woulde to Rome, or to Capua. To the
whyche

The warres betwene the
whyche he made auns were , that Capua
was not a place very safe for him: and he
sayd, that come, whiles there was warre
betwene the men of Capua and it , was
rather an habitacion of vacabundes than
of freides, and old guesles. Wherfore he
sayd, he had not so greate desyre to liue in
any place, as in his kingdom, by whome
he was restored to his libertee.

C The newes that Mago brought to Carthage
of Annibals victorie in Italye, and theo-
tactor of Hanno a senatour of Carthage
made vnto the same. Cap. xxvii.

V **A**nd hynge these thynges were done
in Italye, Mago the Sonne of
Amilcar, not sente from the ar-
mie by his brother, but occupied
a certaine space, in receyuyng the cities of
the Brusians, which yelded them selfes
willingly to the Carthaginēses, brought
tidings to Carthage of the victory at Ca-
nias. When the senatours were for hym
assembled, he declaring the actes done by
hys brother in Italy sayde, that he hadde
foughten wyth. vi . Capptaynes , of the
which. iii. were consals, the fifte Dicta-
tors

Romaynes and the Carthaginēses. 90
fourte, that is chefe rular in the common
welth of the citee, & the sixt maister of the
horsemen. He sayd also, that he had ouer-
come. vi. Consulles hostes : so that there
was slayne by hym. ii. C. vi. and aboue
fifty. vi. taken, and also he had slayne. ii.
of the foure consuls , and the thyde was
sore wounded: and the forth hauyng loste
all his host, fled scarsely with. i. men. And
that the maister of the horsemen was o-
uercome and put to flyghte : so that the
Dictator, which at no time durst come to
bataile, remayned onely their heade and
capitaine. Furthermore, that diuers pla-
ces in Italy were tourned to Annibal, as
the Brusians, the Apulians, parte of the
Samnites, and the Lucanes In so much
as Capua , whyche was not onelye the
head of Campania, but also of all Italy,
ever sens the Romaynes were so over-
thowen at Cannas , had yelded theym
selues to Anniball. And for the more cre-
dence of these so ioyfull newes , he cau-
sed rynges of golde to be powred before
the senatours, which of many men were
reported to be to the quantity of thre bus-
shels, & a halfe:but most authours write (&
that semeth to be most agreeable to verite
that

The warres betwene the

that they were about the mesure of a busshel. And moreouer because it shold be token of a more notable slaughter he said that no man dyd weare anye of the sayde swels, but horsemen , and men of nobylitee. The summe of his oþacio was, that the greater the hope was of the whole byctoy, so muche rather Annibal shold be ayded wþt great helpe and succour, signifying to them , that the warre was far from thens, in the myddel of their enemis lande; and that a great quantitee of grayne and much money was spente. He sayd also, that as the number of their enemies with so manye battailes were slayne and dimisched, so theyr hoste al so was partelye mynyshed and slayne. Wherefore it was mete (he sayd) to send money grayne and other necessaries to souldours that so well had set forthe the glorie and honour of Carthage.

For these tydinges of Mago , euerie man being myry, Himilco, a man of the faction of the Barcins, thought to fynd an occasyon to checke Hanno. What nowe Hanno (sayth he) doeth it forthinkethe of the begynnyng of the warre with the Romaines? Commaunde Anniball

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. vi
to be deliuereed nowe vnto them : or for bidde in this so fortunate time thankes to be geuen to the immortall goddes. Nowe let vs heare a senatour of Rome speake in the senate house of Carthage. Whereunto Hanno aunswerte:
I was determined fathers conscripte, at this time, in your so great and common ioy, to haue holde my peace, and to haue spoken nothing, which shuld haue beng displeasante to you : but I can nowe no lesse do, but aunswere the senatour that inquired of me, whether it forethinketh me of the warre enterprised against the Romaines or no. Wherefore mine aunswere shalbe this to Himilco, that I forethink me yet of the warre taken, & shal all repente it, nor shall at any time cease to forethink it, and blame our victorious capitayne, vntill I se the warre take up and ended by some tollerable waye & condition, neither shal any other thyngs cause me to cease from the desire of the olde auncient peace, save onelpe a newe peace made. These goodly newes, which Mago hath blasid abrode, are verye ioyful to Himilco, and other Annibals frenes and seruauntes: yea they may , be al-

The warres brewidene the
so toyfull to me, for our prosperites in
warre, if we take our good fortune, whi-
ch commeth, shal cause vs to haue better
and more profitable peace. But if we let
pass this time, in the which we maye be
thought rather to graunt peace, than to
crave it: I doubt, lest this ioy wil deceiu
vs, and come to nothinge. Nowe let vs
discusse this matter seriously, and ye shal
perceyue what this greate ioye is. He
sayth, the army of our enemis is slaine
yet he comaundereth souldours to be sent
him. What other thinge would a man de-
sire, if he were ouercome? He sayeth also
that the Campes and tentes of both the
hostes of our ennemis are taken, wyl
a ryche praye and spoyle: Yet he com-
maundeth, that we shal send him graine
and money. What other thinge could
manne desyre, if he were robbed and
dryuen from his owne tentes? But now
I haue unanswered Himilco to his com-
maundes, I woulde that eyther Himil-
co: Mago woulde aunswere me vnto th^e
I shall aske of them. If the fielde fough-
at Cannas was to the vtter subuersion
of the Romayne empyre, and death of
the whole hoste, and all Italiye like
geld.

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 92
yelde the m^t, & forfiske the Romians. First
whether any of the people of Rome come
fleing to vs, and forfiske the Romane:
Moreouer, whether any of the rryb. tri-
bunes hage fledde, and come to Annibal
which both thinges whan Mago hadde
denied to be done: It muste than followes
(sayd he) that we haue many ennemis yet
left at Rome. But I woulde faine knowe
what courage and hope that multitude
of our enemis bath: Whan Mago had
sayde, he could not tel. There is nothing
more easie (said Han no) to be knownen.
Did the Romaines sende any legates to
Annibal for peace: or whether had ye a-
nye knowledge, that the Romaynes
made any mention of peace at Rome?
Whan he also had denied that. Then
haue we (sayd he) as great warre eu-
er in hande, as we had the sytle daye
that Anniball entred into Italiye. There
be manye of vs alive, that do rememb're
yet howe variable the victorie was in
the sytle warres that were betwyx
Carthage and Rome. Our warres and
busynes (bothe by sea and lande) were
thoughte never to be more prosperous,
than before Caius Luetatius, and
P. II. Appius

The warres betwene the

Appius Posthumius were consu's: But yet in theyz time we were ouercome at the iles of Egates. Lykewyse nowe, if Fortune do tourne (as she is alwayes variable) whiche I pray vnto the Goddes maye not happen: Would ye than hope to haue peace, when we are ouercome, the which now we can not get, although we vanquishe and ouercome the Romaynes? If any mention of peace were made syther to be geuen to oure ennemis; or elis to be taken of them: I could tell than ryght well what to saye. But in case ye will onely common of the demandes of Mago, I thinke, if oure people haue so vanquished our ennemis, as hath bene declared, it is not nedesfull to sende them that which Mago desireth. And if thy would mocke vs with theyz baine report of victorye, when none suche is hadde in deede: I thinke then they oughte lesse to be succoured at our handes.

¶ Wyth this oration of Hanno, verys fewe were moued to be of his opinion. For the enuie and hatred, that they bare vnto him, and also the great kinred of the other, caused him to be the worse
heart.

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 93
arde. Agayne, they were so refoyced with the soda yne and presente isye, that they would heare nothinge that shoulde binder the same: Supposyng the warres shauld soone be finished, if they dyd send anye helpe nowe at this time into Italy. Wherefore by the hole consent of the senate it was concluded, to sende to Anniball fortye thousande Numidians, to his succours, and fortye Elephantes, and a great summe of money. And the Dicta-tour of Carthage was sent into Spayne with Mags, to hire twentye thousande footemen, and foure thousand horsemen which shoulde furnishe again the armies both in Spayne, and also in Itallye. But these thinges were forslowed and done by leysure, as commonlye it happeth in prosperitee. But beside the naturall industry of the Romaynes. Fortune also wrought nyuche for theym: for they hap-pned that yere vpon a Consul, that sought all meanes possible, to further all suche thinges as shoulde be thought necessarie to be brought to passe by him. And Marcus Junius, beinge Dictatoure, besides the Legions, which were appointed before,

The warres betwene the

fofe, and the bondmen of the citee, with
other succours such as he could gather
together of divers countreyes adioyning
to founishe the armie: He lepte than be
sides his horse, sapenge: All such as haue
committed any maner of crime worthy
of death, and they that are condemned
to prison for money, if they woulde be
souldiours with hym, and go to the war,
he would pay theyz dlettes, and lose them
from theyz bandes and punishment.
Thus had he of that sorte six thousand
souldiours, whoni he armed with the ar-
mours that C. Flaminius tooke
from the Frenchemen, and then
he went oute of the citee with
foure and twenty thousand
harneyst men.

¶ Of the battayle betwene Marcellus and
Annibal before the citee of Nola, and of
Annibals winteringe in Capua, the
delicate pleasures, whereby he
withdrew the heartes and
courage of his men from
all warlike action,
Cap. xxvii.

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 94

After Annibal had taken Ca-
pua, he assayed manye and di-
uers wayes to haue gotte Pa-
ples, which when he could not
bringe to passe, he wente from thens to
the fieldes of the Nolans, assayenge by
many wayes to winne the towne of No-
la. The senate, and namelye the chyse
stacke surely to their old frendes the Ro-
maines: The commons being (as they are
wont) desirous of newes, inclined all to
Annibal. wherfore the senate, fearing to
arie with the commons openly (against
whose power, if needs required, they
were notable to resist) priuily dissembling
found meanes to prolonge the time, say-
enge, they were contente to be yelded to
Hannibal, but they knewe not after
what maner & condition they shuld yelde
During which time of delaye, they sente
ambassadorra to Marcellus the pretor of
Rome, being the at Cannusium, shewing
him the circumstance of the matter: wil-
ling him to come to them if he intended
that they shuld kepe the towne, who per-
ceiuing their fiedfastnes, greatly praised
the senate of Nola, desiring them to per-
seuer in theyz purpose: and vse suche
iudictes

The warres betwene the
subtiltee, in prolonginge of time as they
befor had done, vntill his commyng to
them, whiche shoulde he shortlye; In the
meane season, he willed them, not to be
aknowen of any succour that was cum-
ming. Than freight he made him ready
and with his army take the waye to Ca-
lacia, and ouer the riuier Tulturnus, and
so to Pola.

Anniball before the Pretors cummyng
went from Pola to Naples, verye desy-
rous to winne some towne that laye on
the sea coates, to whiche the shippes
migt haue free and safe passage frome
Affrica. But when he understoode Na-
ples was defended by a Romaine cap-
tayne (the Neapolitanes had gotten thy-
ther M. Junius Silanus) and shold as
wel be kept out there as he was at Pola
he went & layd siege to Nuceria, whiche
at lasse, usinge manye wayes, he caused
them bi famine to yeilde. Marcellus was
by that time in the towne of Pola, and
was no surer of his owne souldours tha
he was of the princes of Pola: but he sea-
red the commons, and aboue al other he
dradde a yonge man, verye hardye, and
of a noble lignage, whose name was Lu-
cias Bantius, who was much desyrous

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 95
to yelde the towne to Annibal. For being
founde amonge a heape of deade bodyes
and soze wounded in the battayle at Car-
nas, Anniball caused hym to be healed,
and sente home wyth large gystes, so
whyche gentill dede, he wolde fayne that
Pola shold be yelded to Anniball. Mar-
cellus perceiued this Bantius to be trou-
bled in his minde with such studi, so that
he muste eyther with punishmente be re-
strained, or els by benfite reconciled, he
sent for him, and so beninglye with wo-
des, promyses, and gystes entartayned
hym, that there was none in the citee so
sure after the Romans as he.

Than Anniball was come from Nuc-
eria (whyche he of late had taken) before
the gates of Pola, Marcellus was entered
the citee, not searynge to kepe his camps
abrode, but leste hys tarynge wythoute
should be an occasion of betraynge & yel-
ding vp the citee. Than began smal skir-
myshinge betwene the citee and the Car-
thaginenses: at whyche tyme the princes
of Pola shewed Marcellus, that the com-
mon people had secrete metynges and
communicacion in the nighte, wyth the
Carthaginenses: in the whyche it was

The warres betwene the
purposed, that whan the Romayns were
gone out to fight, they woulde take they
stalle and cariage, and shutte the gates:
and so whan they had gotten bothe they
stalle and goodes, they wolde receyue the
Carthaginenses into the towne in siele
of the Romana. Whan they had shewed
thesē cōspiracies to Marcellus, he praised
theyr fidelitee greatlye, and thoughte to
assaye what he might do by battaille, be
fore any such trouble shuld be within the
cittie. Firsse he ordered his hoste beyng
diuided in thre partes, at the .iii. gates,
which opened agaynst his ennemis. He
commaunded the stalle and baggage to
solow a praty space after. And at the mid
del gate he set the strength of the Roman
legions, the newe souldyours and other
that came to their succours, he set at the
two other gates, straigntlye comandaun
dyng, that the Rōlans in no wyse shoulde
come on the walles, nor nere the gates.
He set also certayne souldyours to awaile
on the cartage and stalle, leste whan they
were busy in battaille, the Rōlans myght
spoyle & take it. whā at things were thus
put in good order, they stooode still within
the walles, without making any shewe.

Annibal

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 96
Annibal standing in arap in the fieldes
a longe space, as he was wonte, meruayled
that he sawe nother the hoste come to
the fieldes, no, no man armēd on the walles:
Whan he supposed, that theyr coun
sayle was knownen, and that for feare the
commds of the towne were constrainyd
to forsake their promyse. Wherefore he
sente parte of the souldyours to the tentes
to setche sydynaunce and all thinges ne
cessary to assaulte the walles, tbynkyng
that if he wet on them whiles they abode
in this staye, that the common people of
the cittie wold make some ruzour on the
walles. Incontinent whiles euerē man
as the commandement was, ran to his
busines, touchynge the assaulte, and the
host went to the walles: the gates were so
deinly opened. Marcellus comanded to
spredē the baners, and the trumpettes to
blow, and the footemen firsse, and af
ter the horsemen to renne on theyr enne
mies. Some authoress say, that there were
slayne at that skirmysche .ii. M. iii. C.
Carthaginenses, and but one man of the
Romaynes: whether the victory were so
greate, or whether it were lesse, the acte
was great, & the conduct noble. Annibal
hauing

The warres betwene the
hanyng no hope of opteyning the towne,
wente than to Acerras , and Marcellus
Greyght caused the gates of Pola to be
shutte, lest any man shuld passe forth: and
made anon stryght and dylgente exami-
nation, who they were, that would haue
betrayed the towne. He beheaded xxxvii.
of them, and caused their goodes to be di-
buted among the commons. And after he
had committed the charge of kepyng of
the towne to the senate, he remoued with
his hole host beyond Surssala.

Anniball, after he had wonne Acerras
came to Cassilinum, where they so valy-
antlye, defended theym selfes, that An-
nibal, beynge halfe ashamed, left the siege
and went to winter at Capua. And then
he kepte hys hoste in houses for the moste
parte of the wynter, who of longe tyme
before had endured agaynst all kyndes of
perynes and trauayle, having smal know-
ledge of pleasure, or ease. And they that
could not before be ouercome wþt anye
kynde of misery or peyne, were than losse
with unmeasurable pleasures, wherein
they were wholly drownyd, so gredy ther
were thercof, after theyr accustomed pe-
nes. Thus toke they all theyr deylete in

Romaynes and the Cartthaginens. 97
slepe and wyne, in bankettes, hauntyng
of harlettes and bathes with dayly rest
and ydernes, which delicate facion with-
drewe both theyr courage, and also theyr
strength from theyr bodies and myndes,
so that afterward theyr ioy comforste and
strength was more by remembrance of
the victories, whiche they had opteyned
besore, than in theyr present strength: In
so muche that to let his souldours thus
solow theyr lustes, was thought amone
expert warriours a greater hynderaunce
vnto hym, than that he did not leade hys
host to come streight after the battaile of
Cannas. For that tariyng and doubting
was thought but only a prolongyng of
the victory, but this faute made them vn-
able afterward to ouercome. So that
whan he remoued from Capua after the
winter, it seemed that he ledde for the
strange army, other than he brought this-
ther, they obserued none of theyr accus-
med sorte of warre, some retourned to
theyr harlettes, manye other, as sene as
they beganne to fele payne, trauaille, and
hardenesse of warre, and that they were
payne to be couered wþt skynnes, they
were so wrygtes, and the warre semed to
them

The warres betwene the

them so tediousse, that they wanted bothe
they i strength of bodye, and hardinesse
minde, whiche they had before. A greate
parte of the hoste withoute theyr wages,
stole from theyr capitaines, nother hadde
they anye other denre or receptacle but
Capua.

¶ Of the long siege and synnyng of Cassilium
With the death and destruction of the consul
Posthumius and his hoste in the woodes
of Apiana by the craft of the frenche
men. Cap. xxix.

Aban it drew toward the som-
mer, Annibal remoued againe
to Cassilium, where without
assauage giuing but only by con-
tinuall spege kepinge, he brought the in-
habitauntes thereto almoste to extreme
pouertee and famine.

The dictatour in this season was gone to
Rome, to serche by diuinacyons the for-
tune that shuld happen. Titus Sempronius
was left as ruler of the army. Mat-
tella being at Pola wold haue suc-
cured them of Cassilium, saue that the
czens of Pola wold in no case suffer him
to go from them, fearynge leste after his
departur

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 98
departure, the inhabitauntes of Capua
woulde haue invaded theym. The ryuer
also of Multurnus was rysen so hyghe,
that he coulde not well passe ouer, but in
greate jeopardy. Gracchus was leste
with a certaine men of war, to lie aboute
Cassilium, who moned not, nos broughte
them anye succoure, because he hadde in
commaundement of the dictatour, that
he shoulde moue no battayle in his absences
yet hard be such newes from Cassilium
whiche woldes haue moued a man to haue
broken his commaundement. So, it was
shewed hym, that some beyng not able to
suskeyn the greate hunger and famine,
without adaisement, destroyed them selfes
And some desyryng the death, wold stand
on the walles without armour, to the in-
tent they myghte be slaine with the shotes
of theyr ennemis. Gracchus seyng that
he durst not helpe them by battayle, be-
cause of the contrary commaundement of
his dictatour. And there was no remedie
to byynge them sustinance, for that in no
case coulde be done wythoute battayle.
aban he gathered in the sides as many
kyndes of coyne as he coulde, and there-
with filled a great nuber of bessels or ba-
gelles,

The warres betwene the
telles, and sent a messenger to the ruler
of the citee, certifying them, that he woulde
the nexte nyghte sende the vessels with
grayne downe the water, warning them
to be redy to receiue them at the comyng
of the tyde. The nyghte folowynge, eu-
ry man went to the ryuer to fary the com-
myng of the graine, according to the pa-
myle of Gracchus, at the last they myght
see the countes come swymmyng downe
the middel of the streme, whiche they re-
ceyued gladly and deuyded it equallye
mong them. Thus they contynued by the
space of. iii. iiij. iiii. nyghtes, so longe they
disceyued the watchemen of theyr ene-
myes: but at the laste the water arose
muche hygher than it was wonte, by the
reason of a continuall rayne that fell, so
that the streme was moze swyse than it
was wont to be, wherby the vessels were
dryuen to lād on that part where the host
of Annibal laye, and manye were founde
lyckynge amonge the wyllowes, that
grew on the bankes of the ryuer, which
was shewed unto Annibal, who after-
warde, with greater dilygence, watched
the ryuer of Tullturnus, lest he shold by
such meanes be estesones deceyued.

Romaynes and the Earthaginenses. 99
was there such like deuyse made by sen-
ding of nuttes downe the streme, in ba-
relles till it was espied. At lengthe they
were broughte to suche pouertee, that
they were constrainyd to take skynnes
crynnes, and the coueringes of shieldes
whiche they made softe in warme water
and so eate theym, neyther refrayned
they to eate myse and suche kinde of ver-
min, and all kinde of herbes, and rootes
whiche grewe wythout in the feilde ad-
joyning to the walles. This also percei-
ued Anniball: wherfore he caused the
ground to be plowed vp, where all such
herbes and rootes did growe to his ene-
mies succour, wythout the wall.
In whiche newe plowed groundes, the
men of the towne sowed Pasnepseed.
Wherat Anniball cried, Shall I farye at
Cassilinum while these seedes be growē
up able for theyr foode and sustinance?
Wherupon where before he wold heare
of no communication of truce, he then
was contented to couenaunt with them
for theyr redemption. The price of theyr
redemption was. vii. ounces of golde for
every of them. When the couenautes
were made, they yelded the selues. And
D. i. they

The warkes betwene the

they were kepte in prison vntill all the
money was payde. And after sente wyth
good leave to Cumas. There came to
Prenest to the garrison of Castilium
C. and seventy souldiours, of which the
most part were slayne and fainted, the
residue went to Prenest with their cap-
tayne Manicius: Castilium was given
to the citzens of Capua, and kept by
bis. C. of Annibalis souldiours, leaſt
when they were departed from thens,
the Romans should take it agayne. The
Senate of Rome appointed double stipa
to the souldiours of Prenest, & also gaue
them ſine yeares licence to be absent
the wares, for their great fidelitie.
Then were the Romas busy in choſing
newe souldiours, to ſupply their plaine
that were ſlaine in the batteyle before.
Lucius Posthumius, & Titus Sempronius
were choſen conſulles. The dicti-
our, wher the officers were choſen, went
to Theanum, where the army wintered
he lefte the mayster of the horſemen at
Monte, who alone after he had receyued
the office, counſayled with the fathers
about choſing and ordynning of their ar-
mies for that yere. And when they were
moſt

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 163
moſt diligente aboue theyr busines, thy-
ngs was brought to the citee of a new
laughter and loue; that was then hap-
ped vnto theyni, one euell chaunce that
were comming after another. The truthe
was that Lucius Posthumius and his
armie was diſtroyed in France by thyſ
neane. There was a great wide wood,
alled by the Frenchmen Litan, through
which he ſhould lead his host, of þ which
wood the Frenchmen had ſo cut all the
rees on both ſides the way, if they were
not moued, they woulde ſtand still: but
beinge anye thinge moued, they woulde
none fall. Posthumius had in his hoste
þrety and twenty thouſand men. The
Frenchmen hadde beſtowed theyr com-
panye round aboue the compasse of the
woodde, and when the armie of the Ro-
mayne was well entred the woodde,
þey caſte downe the fartheſt parte of
the trees, growynge in the boorders of
the woodde, which when they were mo-
ued fell one vpon an other through the
woodde hauyng no ſtaye, throlvynge
downe & ſleing the Romans as they paſ-
ſed, both men and horſes, ſo that ſcarcey
tenne men escaped, the moſt parte were
D. 11. almoſt

The warres betwene the
almoste past breath and dead of the hunc-
tes of the trees falling on them, the resi-
due, that escaped and wold haue fledde
being amased wyth the sodayne chaunce
were slayne by the frenchemen, who be-
ing armed, beset the wood round about.
There were a fewe taken, which sought
to go ouer a bidge, whiche the frenche-
men kepte, but anone they were compas-
sed and beset aboute with the frenche-
men. There the consult Poschumius,
who in no wise woulde be taken of his
ennemis, manfully and nobly dyed.
They broughte the ornamentes of his
bodye, and his head, beinge cut from the
bodye, to the chiefe temple in that coun-
try, with singing and much mirth.
They purged and clensed the skul with
in and without, and couered the brayne
panne ouer with gold, usynge it to drinke
therein, when they did sacrifice at anye
soleimne feast: and also it serued the prie-
stes and bishops of the temple, as a cup
at the sacrifice. The praye was no lesse
to the frenchemen than the victo:ye, so
although the most part of the cattel was
slayne, with the fallinge of the trees, yet
they lost nothinge of the substaunce that

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 101
they had about them.

Whan this slaughter was knowen at
Rome, the citezens were in such sorowe
and trouble for a greate space, that they
shutte their windowes and shoppes, as
though it had ben in the night: but with
in short space the senatoris charged the
officers, to go about the citie, and cause
the shoppes & doores to be opened and to
cause the citezens to leane their sorowe.
Then T. us Sempronius called a Gen-
te or court, in the whiche he exhorted
and counsayled the fathers cōscript, that
they whose heartes were not overcome
for the greate destruction and losse of the
battaile at Cannas, should not now suf-
fer theym selues to be vanquished wyth
this muche lesse sorowe and calamitie:
admonishing theim, that as concerning
the Carthaginenses and Annibal, al was
(as he trusted it should be) very wel. And
as for the warres with the Frenchemen
it might be deferred for a season: for at al
times the reuengyng of their harmes,
was in the power of the goddes and the
Romaynes. Furthermore, he shewed
theym, that they ought chiefely to coun-
sage and worke against Anniball circu-
spectly

The warres betwene the

almoste past breath and dead of the hures
of the trees falling on them, the rest
due, that escaped and wold haue fledde
being amased wylth the sodayne chaunce
were slayne by the Frenchmen, who be-
ing armed, beset the wood round about.
There were a fewe taken, which sought
to go ouer a bidge, whiche the frenche-
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men. There the consult Posthumius,
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bodye, to the chiefe temple in that coun-
try, with singing and much mirth.
They purged and cleansed the skul with
in and without, and couered the braynes
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therin, when they did sacrafice at any
soleinne feast: and also it serued the prie-
ses and bishops of the temple, as a cup
at the sacrifice. The praye was no lesse
to the Frenchmen than the victoyn, so
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slayne, with the fallinge of the trees, yet
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and trouble for a greate space, that they
shutte their windowes and shoppes, as
though it had ben in the night: but with
in short space the senatours charged the
officers, to go about the citie, and cause
the shoppes & doores to be opened and to
cause the citezens to leane their sorowe.
Then L'us Sempronius called a Sen-
ate or court, in the whiche he exhorted
and counsayled the fathers cōscript, that
they whose heartes were not ouercome
for the greate destruction and losse of the
battaile at Cannas, should not now suf-
fer theym selues to be vanquished wylth
this muche lesse sorowe and calamitie:
admonishing them, that as concerning
the Carthaginenses and Annibal, al was
(as he trusted it should be) very wel. And
as for the warres with the Frenchmen
it might be deferred for a season: for at al
times the reuengyng of their harmes,
was in the power of the goddes and the
Romaynes. Furthermore, he shewed
them, that they ought chiefely to coun-
sayle and worke against Anniball circu-
spectly

The warres betwene the
almoste past breath and dead of the hurs-
tes of the trees falling on them, the res-
idue, that escaped and wold haue fledde
being amased wyth the sodayne chaunce
were slayne by the Frenchmen, who be-
ing armed, beset the wood round about.
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bodye, and his head, beinge cut from the
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try, with singing and much mirth.
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in and without, and couered the brayne
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therein, when they did sacrifice at anye
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stes and bishops of the temple, as a cup
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nate or court, in the whiche he exhorted
and counsayled the fathers cōscript, that
they whose heartes were not overcome
for the greate destruction and losse of the
battaile at Cannas, should not now suf-
fer them selfes to be vanquished wyth
this muche lesse sorowe and calamite:
admonishing them, that as concerning
the Carthaginēses and Annibal, al was
(as he trusted it should be) very wel. And
as for the warres with the Frenchmen
it might be deferred for a season: for at al
times the reuengyngē of their harmes,
was in the power of the goddes and the
Romaynes. Furthermore, he shewed
them, that they ought chiesely to coun-
saille and wokre against Anniball circū-
spectly

The warres betwene the

specly, preparing with what number of men he might be resisted, and he first reason'd what noumber of foote men and horsemen, of Citezans and other they stendes of Italy, were in the hoste of the dictatour. Then Marcellus declared what nūbre was in hi armee, y he has charge of: And thus after they had imagined and decreed, what nūbre shoulde satisfie the two censuls hostes, they agreed, that the warre against the frenchmen shoulde be omitted untill another time.

Of the victory of the Scipions in Spayne. Cap. xxx.

Veriles these thynges were done and prpared in Italye, the Romayne Capitaynes in Spayne were not ydell, but as than had the upper hande of theyr enemis, P. Scipio, and C. Scipio his brother parted theyr armes betwixt them, so that Cneius shoulde haue the lande, and Publius the sea. There was grete warre in Spayne betwene the Scipions and Hasdruball: but when it was knowne in Spayne, that Hasdruball shoulde

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 108
goe wþth his hoste into Italye, a great numbre of them turned theyr heartes to the Romaynes. Therfore Hasdruball sent letters to Carthage, certiffieng the Senate, howe daungerous his departing out of Spayne shoulde be: And howe that before he were passed the riuere of Iberus, the more part of Spayne would tourne to the Romans. Whiche letters although at the first they mou'd the Senate muche, notwithstanding because theyr hole mindes were geue to y charge & busines of the affaires of Italye, they chaged not their purpose, cosferringe the sending of Hasdrubal into Italye: but in his place they sent Himilco with an host furnished to kepe the seas & the land, and also the countrey of Spayne: who whan he had all thinge necessarye prouided for him, with as great speede as myghte be, passed the countrey of Spayne, vntill he came to Hasdruball. And as soone as he had shew'd him the comiandemente of the senate, and that Hasdruball likewise informed him, howe he shoulde deeme him selfe in the warres of spaine he retourned againe to his fetes wþ speede But Hasdruball, ere euer he remoued his

his campe, caused tares of money to be
rayed of all countreyes that were under
his obeystance: knowing wel, that Anniball
had bought certayne passages of the
Frenchemen, and that wythoute they
helpe, the entre into the Alpes or hyghe
mountaynes, was harde to be obteyned.
When he had gathereded greate summes
of money, he went dwyne with sped to
the riuier of Iberus. And when the pur
pose of the Carthaginenses and Hasdrub
als journye was knownen and shewed
to the Scipions, they setting al other bu
sines aparte, with bothe their hostes to
gether, set forward to meeke him, & pre
pared to let his enterpise: supposinge,
that if Hasdruball, beinge a capistayne
and that great newe hoste of the Car
thaginense, were ioyned to Anniball
whom alone Italy was scarcelye able to
withstand) that the empyre of Rome
should soone be at an ende. Thus they
being troubled with care of this busines
brought their host to Iberus. And when
they had passed the riuier, consultinge
longe, whether they shoulde pytche their
campe neare to theyr ennemis, or elles
guerrune and subdue some of the Car
thaginenses.

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 103
Carthaginenses frendes, therby to staye
and prolonge theyr ennemis purposed
journey. At laste they determinyd to be
siege the citee, called Ibera (of the wa
ter, which was nere it) the rychest of the
countrey at that tyme. Whiche thynge
whan Hasdrubal knew, in stede of bry
gynge succour to his frendes, he wente to
besiege a Citee, that was lately yelded
to the Romains: so than the Romaynes
leste their siege, and tourned the battaile
whollye to Hasdruball. There was be
twixt the two hostes, for the space of cer
taine dayes, the space of ffeue myles, du
ryng which time they were not without
small skyrmishing. At length, as it were
pretended of bothe partes, at one tyme
bothe the hole hostes dyscended into the
playne, redye to geue battayle. The Ro
maine hoste was deuyded into thre par
tes, parte of the foote men were sette be
fore the standerdes, and part behind, the
horsemen kept the sydes or wynges. On
the other parte Hasdruball sette in the
myddell battaile the Spanyardes, and
in the right wyng the Carthaginenses,
and in the left wyng the Africans, with
the hyzed straunge souldyours: And he
put

The warres betwene the
put the Numidians to the footemen
Carthage, the residue of the Africās be-
sette before the wynge: nother dyde be-
sette all the Numydians in the ryghte
wynge, but those, whose qualites were
soch in lightnes and nimblenes, that ry-
ding vpon one horse, and leading a spare
horse in theyr hands, whan the one was
very, they wold amoung the thickest of
their ennemis leape arned on the other
freshe horse, theyr agilitee and quycnes
was so great, & the horse of kinde so gen-
til and well taught. Thus stode they in
array, & littel difference there was, other
in the number or kyndes of scouldours
of either hoste, notwithstanding standyngē the
scouldours herdes were not like. The ro-
man capitaines, althoughe they soughte
farre from home, yet myght they easlye
persuade their scouldours, that they shuld
fight for the countrey, and for the citee of
Rome. Wherefore by that doubtful bat-
tayle they purposed, other to overcome,
or dye, trusting therby to haue shorte re-
tourne home to their Countrey. The
other hoste had not so sterne valiant and
hardy men for y more part of thē were spa-
niards, which had rather be overcome in
Spaine

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 104
Spayne, thā winning the victory, he con-
ducted into Italy. Therfore at the fyfthe
metynge, whan the darcies were scarslye
thowten, the middell warde fledde, and
cauz place to the Romaines: who came
vpon them with great violence, notwithstanding
standyngē the battayles were not hymge
lesse in the wynge, for on the one syde the
Carthaginenses, and on the other syde
the Africās came on them boldlye, and
foughte ererly, but whan y Roman hoste
hadde gotten into the myddell together,
they were stronge enoughē to put away
the wynge of theyr ennemis. Where-
fore beyng in number and strength best,
they shortlye put the other to the worse.
There was a greater nūber of mē slaine
and vnlesse the Spanyarde had fled a-
way so thicke, before the bataile was be-
gunne, there had scarslye anye of theym
remayned vnslayne. There was no bat-
tale betwene the horsemen. For as some
as the Mauritanes and Numidiās saw
the myddel warde overcome and put to
flyghte, they dryuyngē the Elephantes
before theym, sodeynelye departed and
fled: leauing both the wings bare. Has-
druball remayning til the last end of the
bataile,

The warres betwene the
battayle, fled with a fewe with hym.
That battayle caused the heartes of the
Spaniardes, whiche doubted before in
the frendshyppe of the Romaynes, to be
wholly geuen to theim. And it dyd not
onely take the hope from Hasdruball of
leaving his host into Italy: but also that
there was scarce tariyng from hym in
Spayne. Which thyngs after they were
certified to the Senate at Rome by the
Scipions letters, they were not so glad
of the victory, as that Hasdrubal and his
host were prohibited the enter into Italy

¶ The oracion of the Samnites and the Hir-
pines to Anniball, desyryng his helpe a-
gainste the Romaynes, wyth the order
of Marcellus and Annibal about
Nola. Cap. xxxi.

Vix these thyngs were done
in Spayne, the Romaynes o-
vered theyz busynes wyllyng
Italy. Titus Sempronius,
and Quintus Fabius Marinus were
chosen consuls. Marcellus than laye at
Nola, and he made dyuers oute reynyn-
ges with his army into the fieldes of the
Hirpines

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 107
Hirpines and Samnites, and so destroy-
ed all wyth the sworde and syre, that he
renued the memorye of the olde dystruc-
tion of Samnum; and than freyghte
wayes both the nacions sente theyz mes-
sengers to Anniball at ones, who spake
to hym after this maner.

We were (D Anniball) ennemys to
the Romaynes of our selues, as long as
our weapons, our harneys, and strength
were able to mayntaine vs. Afterwarde
whan we had smalle hope and truse in
them, we fell into amitee with Pyrrhus
of whom beyng forfaken, as no longer
able to defende vs, we toke truce & peace
necessarie, for that we were vnable to
withstand the Romaynes. And we haue
endured in the same peace the space of
fiftie yeres, vnto thy compyng into Ita-
ly. Sens whiche tym thy onely gentyl-
nes towarde our citezens (which beinge
taken, thou sendest to vs agayne) as wel
as thy vertue & fortune, so hathe wonne
vs vnto the, that yf thou oure frende be
safe and in good helth, we not only wold
not feare the Romaynes, but also, yf it
were lawfull to be spoken, we wolde not
feare the goddis. But verilye not onelys
thou

The warres betwene the

thou beyng safe and sound, but also presente, where as thou maest also beholde our houses burnyng, and here the waylyng of our wyues and chyldren, we are so spoyled, and oure goodes wasted and destroyed, that it may be thought, that Marcus Marcellus hathe overcome at Cannas, and not Anniball: and also the Romains maye rejoyce, that thou onely as it were at one battaille, art strong and valyaunte, and at the nexte wethered and faint. we kepte warre with the Romaynes the space of one hundred yeres, beynge succoured by no man, sauyng that þus the space of. ii. yeares, dyd increase his strength and powet with oure men; rather than defendis vs by hys power. We wyll not rejoyce of our prosperitee, whan we subdued Consulles with their hostes at ons time, and brought them into our subiection: but omittynge all suche prosperous chaunces that we had; wee myghþe shewe those thynges that happed infortunatly to vs at that time, if there were anye, wþt leße shame than we may now declare those that be channed to vs. There dydde invade the costes of oure Countreys at that tyme. ii. no-

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 106
ble dictatours, the maisters of horsement and two Consulles, wþt two consulles hostes, hauinge all thynges prouyded for them necessarylye; ere they woulde aduenture to robbe and dystroye our countrey. But nowe we bee almost a praye to one lyttell hoste, beyng leste for the succours of Pola. Nowe they beynge but a smalle noumber, after the manner of robbers, overcome oure Countrey with leſſe feare, than yf there were in the Romayne fieldes. The cause is, that nother thou doest defendis vs, and also that all our lusty yong and valiaunt men, which without doubt, yf they were at home, woulde defendis vs, are with the, and vnder thy banner: neyther hadde we knowen the, nor thyne hoste, hadde not it happed, that through the myghte there were so many Romans slaine and put to flight, to whom we may suppose it but a lyght thing to suppresse our robbers, rounyng abrode in the fieldes without order, renninge whither as soonlyshe and bayne hope of a praye doeth leade them, whom a fewe of thy Numidians wold vterly confound. And I doubt not but thou wilt sed vs some sure helpe and succour,

The warres betwene the

succour, excepte thou iudge vs unworthy
to be defended and holpen, whan hereto-
fore thou thoughtest vs not unworthy to
be taken as thy frendes and compa-
ions, receyuyng vs into thy amyttee and
frendshyppe.

To this theyz lamentable oracion Anniball answered, that the Hirpines and Samnites dyd shewe their ruine & losse, requyryng helpe therin, and also dyd
complayne, that they were leste without
succoure and unholpen, and all at ones:
where as they shold firste haue shewed
theyz cause, askynge succoure in theyz
myschiese, and afterwarde, if they could
not haue healpe, than to complayne,
that theyz suite was in vayne. Neverthe-
leste he promised them succours & helpe,
not that his army shoulde come into any
of their groundes, but that he wolde in-
vade theyz neyghbours, whiche were
frendes to the Romaynes: whereby he
shoulde draswe the Romaines from de-
fende theyz frendes. And as concerning
the warre betwene hym and the Ro-
maynes, yf the battayle at Trassimenu-

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the battaile at Cannas, more nobler thā
that of Trasimenus: he woulde make the
same and memorye of the victory at Ca-
nas, but obicure and nothinge to be este-
med, in comparison of a moze noble and
triumphante victorye, that he trusted to
haue of them. With this awiswere and
great rewardes he sent them home: and
leauing a litell compayne at Tisatis, he
toke his tourney to Pola. At the same
time Hanno came to hym from the Bru-
sians, wyth stiffe sente from Carthage,
and with elephantes.

Whan Anniball had pitched hiȝ tentes
not farre from Pola, he founde all thin-
ges otherwise than it was shewed him
by the legates of the Samnites, for Mar-
cellus so ruled him selfe euer and all his
me, that he committed nothing to for-
ty, neither leste any thinge rashelye in
anger of his ennemis: for when he
went about any spoyle of the countreye,
or to get any pray, he did it as prouident
ye, as thoughe he shoulde haue done it
Anniball beyng present. And when he
perceiued Anniball to be come: he kepte
his hoste wythin the citree. Whereupon
Hanno approched nigh unto the wall,

The warres betwene the
succour, excepte thou judge vs vnworthy
to be defended and holpen, whan hereto-
fore thou thoughtest vs not vnworthy to
be taken as thy frendes and company-
ons, receyuyng vs into thy amptee and
frendshyppe.

To this theyz lamentable oracion An-
niball answered, that the Hirpines and
Samnites dyd shewe their ruine & loss,
requyryng helpe thereto, and also dyd
complayne, that they were leste without
succoure and vnholpen, and all at ones.
Where as they shold firste haue shewed
theyz cause, askynge succoure in theyz
mischiefe, and afterwarde, if they coulde
not haue healpe ; than to complayne,
that theyz sute was inayne. Neverthe-
leste he promised them succours & helpe,
not that his army shoulde come into any
of their groundes, but that he wolde in-
uade theyz neyghbours, whiche were
frendes to the Romaynes : whereby he
shoulde draswe the Romaines from ver-
inge of them, makynge them glad to de-
fende theyz frendes. And as concerninge
the warre betwene hym and the Ro-
maynes, yf the battaile at Trasimenus
were nobler than that of Trebia, and

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 107
the battaile at Cannas, more nobler thā
that of Trasimenus: he woulde make the
same and memoyre of the victory at Ca-
nas, but oblicure and nothinge to be este-
med, in comparison of a more noble and
triumphante victo:ye, that he trusted to
haue of them. With this auns were and
great rewardes he sent theim home: and
leauing a litell compayne at Tisatis, he
toke his iourney to Pola. At the same
time Hanno came to hym fro m the Bru-
sians, wyth stusse sente from Carthage,
and with elephantes.
Than Anniball had pitched hys tentes
not farre from Pola, he founde all thin-
ges otherwise than it was shewed him
by the legates of the Samnites, for Mar-
cellus so ruled him selfe euer and all his
men, that he committed nothinge to for-
tune, neither leste any thinge rashelye in
daunger of his enemis: for when he
went about any spoyle of the countreye,
or to get any pray, he did it as prouident
lye, as though he shoulde haue done it
Anniball beyng present. And when he
perceiued Anniball to be come: he kepte
his hoste wythin the citree. Whereupon
Hanno approched nigh unto the wall,

The warres bee wene the
callinge for the Herennius Bassus, and
Verius Petreius, who by the licence of
Marcellus went forth to talke with him.
Then unto them by an interpretour he
began to exalte the vertue and fortune
of Anniball, and despised the nobilitie of
the Romains, whiche (he sayde) decayed
together wyth theyz power and strength
Whiche nobilitie and power if it were
lyke as it was in olde time, notwithstanding
knowing the harde and cruell em-
pire and gouernaunce of the Romaynes
and the great gentlenes of Anniball to-
wardes al the captiues of Italy, the fred-
ship & amitie of the Carthaginenses was
to be preferred before the amitie of the
Romains. And if both the consuls, wyth
theyz hostes were at Nola, they were no
moze to be compared to Anniball, than
they were at the battel of Cannas: much
lesse one pretor with a fewe newe & un-
skilled souldours, was able to defende
Nola. And that they rather than Anniball,
oughte to care, after what maner
Nola shoulde come to Anniballs posses-
sion: either takē by violence, or yelded, for
there was no remedye but haue it he
would, as he had Capua & Pucertia. He
sayd

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 108
sayd further, that he woulde not diuine
what shoulde happen to the citee beinge
taken, but durst rather promise & Under-
take, that if they would yelde Marcellus
and the citie to Anniball, that no man
but they them selues shoulde prescribe the
baudes and lawes of the frendeship that
should be betwene them:
etherunto Herennius Bassus aunswere
that the amitie betwene the Romay-
nes and the Molanes had contynned ma-
ny yeares, of the which neyther of them
did so thynke. He sayd furthermore, that
if they shoulde haue chaunged or brokern
theyz faithes, when theyz fortune fayled
or chaunged, that now it were to late to
chaunge: for that other chaunged a long
time agone: And that it had folly for the
to haue sought succour of the Romaines
if they had bene minded to haue yelded
the towne to Anniball. Therfore they
mindes were, that wyth those, whiche
came to theyz succours, they were in all
thinges ioyned and surely knit together
and to the death shoulde be. Which aun-
swere toke from Annibal the hope of ob-
teynyng the citee wythoute battayle:
Wherefore he beleitte the citee rounde

The warres beewene the
about, intending to geue assaulte theri
vnto on all partes.

So soone as Marcellus sawe that his
enemies approched the walles, he odered
his hoste wisely within the walles,
and then sodaynely issued oute to battell
making great noyse. Some at the syrle
encountringe were dryuen backe and
slayne, but when the armes ioyned to
gether, the battayle beganne to be verye
sterre on bothe partes: And no sayle, it
had bene a sore fyghte, hadde not a huge
tempest and rayne departed them: wher-
by hauinge bothe egre misnes, the one
was dryuen into the towne: and the o-
ther to his campe or tentes, & litell hurte
done, where (beyng bothe desirous of
battayle) they abode al the nexte daye, so
great was the violence of the strome.

The thirde daye Anniball sente parte of
his souldiours, to robbe and spoyle the
fieldes: which when Marcellus knewe,
he strayght waies brought his host sooth
to the battayle, and Anniball on the o-
ther side was nothinge behinde. There
was almoste a mile betwene the towne
and the campe, wher the two hostes met
together. The crye that was raysed on

both

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both partes caused the compayne to re-
tourne to battayle, whiche were before
sent a spoiling, & the Ptolans wyth theyz
power were readye to encrease the Ro-
maines hoste: whom Marcellus (greatly
praysing for their good willes and cou-
rage) commaunded to stand in araye rea-
dye to theyz succour, and to conuay them
which were wounded out of the battaile
And that they shold in no wise fyghte,
butyll he commaunded them. The bat-
tayle was strong, the souldiours fought
with all theyz myghtes, and lykewyse
the Capitaynes prouoked theym to the
same.

Marcellus had the boldly withstād those
that were ouercome not three dayes be-
fore, & that not longe agone fled fro Cu-
ma as vacabundes, and the yeare before
were dryuen from Nola, he beinge capy-
taine. And to comfort them the more, he
sayd, that al their ennemis were not in
battaile, some were a rousing in the fiel-
des, & those that fought in battaile, were
weakened and become vnlusyte with plea-
sure, riot, drunknes, & hauntinge of har-
lots at Capua. And that the strengthes,
courage, and myghte of their bodies and

P. iii.. heartes

The warres betwene the

heartes, by the whyche they passed the
great mountaynes called alpes, and the
villes of Pyrenes was cleane gone.
He sayd also, that those were the leauing
ges of the foressarde souldoures ; scarce
able to beare & sustaine their owne mem-
 bers and harneys, Hewynge that Capua
was as hurtfull and displeasaunte unto
Anniball and his men, as Cannas was
to the Romaynes, for there (sayd he) they
haue lefft all their strength, vertue, and
good feates of warre, yea, and haue left
there not onelye all they; glore and
same of the tyme passe, but also
hope of victorye in tyme
to come.

The exhortation of Anniball to his souldours,
the battayle betwene him and Marcellus,
and the victories of the Scipions in
Spane. Cap. xxii.

And when Marcellus wþt such
woordes to his ennemis re-
proche had incouraged his sol-
dours, Anniball like wþse with
lesse rebuke and blame to the Romay-
nes called on his men, sayenge that he
knewe

Romaynes and the Cartheginenses. 216
knewe them to haue the same armour
and standerdes whych they had at Tre-
bia, Trasimenus and at Cannas : what
meaneth it nowe (sayth he) that ye scarce
ly are able to withstande one legate Ro-
mayne, and the battaile of one Legyon
or wyng: where twoo Consulles hostes
were never able to wythstande you?
Shall Marcellus with his newe and un-
taught souldours, and the succoures of
Pola, yet agayne prouoke vs, and we
not revenged vpon them? Where are
my souldours that drewe Flaminus
froine his horse, and strake of his
heade? Where is he that stieue Lu-
cius Paulus at Cannas? Are your twoo
des blunt? Or are your ryght handes a-
fonped and weary? What a monstros-
ous thyng is this? that you, the whyche
were wonke, whan that ye were but a
very fewe in numbre, in shorte space to
ouercome a great myny, nowe you be-
yngc manye, suffer a fewe to flycke
in youre handes: you boſted as holde
menne wþt youre iunges, that you
would winne Rome, if any man would
expunge you thither. Beholde nowe your
busines

The warres betwene the
busines here is muche lesse. I woulde
would proue your strength & hardinesse
here by winninge of Nola, a citee of the
countrey set in the playne feldes, beyng
compassed wyth neyther floude nor sea,
and then I shall eyther leade or folowe
you, being laden with so ryche a pray, to
what place so euer you will.

Notwithstandinge, neither these repro-
ches, nor his entisinges coulde preuayle
to strength theyz heartes, they were bea-
ten backe on all sydes. The heartes of
the Romaynes dyd encrease, not onelys
by theyz capitaines exhortinges, but al-
so the Polanes steiringe and kendlings
theyz courage to battaille. At length the
Carthaginenses fledde, and were dy-
uen backe to theyz tentes. And Marcellus
broughte his souldiours to Nola,
wyth great ioye and thankes of the peo-
ple, whose hartes before were most incli-
ned to the Carthaginenses. There were
slaine that day aboue a. viii. of theyz enne-
mies, and one thousand. vi. C. taken, of
standards and baners xx. and. lxxii. Ele-
phants slaine in the battaille: There
were not a. viii. Romaines slaine. The
nexte dayes truce was taken, whyche
they

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 111
they spent in bursyng the deade bodies.
Marcellus made oblacid to Vulcan with
the spoyle of his ennemis, within three
dayes after, eyther for dyspleasure, or
hope of more wages. M.ii. C. lxii. of
Numidian horsemen and Spanyardes
fled from Anniball to Marcellus, whose
faithfull stronge helpe and ayde the Ro-
maines vsed in that batayle oftenty mes
after. Than Annibal set Hanno agayne
to the Brusians, with the host whych he
broughte before wyth hym from thens:
and wente hym selfe for the wynter to
Apulia, and lay about Arpos.

So sone as Quintus Fabius hearde,
that Anniball was gone to Apulia, and
that he had broughte corne as muche as
he thoughte necessarye to serue them for
the wynter, from Nola and Naples to
the campe at Suessula, leauynge a suffi-
cient garrisō there, he moued his campe
nigh unto Capua, burning and spolling
theyz fiedles: so that they of Capua were
constrained(trusting littel to theyz owne
strength) to come out of the citee, and en-
campe them selues before the walles,
fortifying them with munimentes with-
out the gates. They had. vi. vi. souldy-
ours

The warres betwene the
vires armed, they coulde better skylle off
horshacke than on foote. Therfore the
horsmen euer prouoked theyr enemys
by sky my shynge. Soone after Quintus
Fabius the consull remoued hys tentes
backe from the Campanes, that they
myght tyl and sow theyr ground, nother
dyd he come thyther agayne to dystroye
any of the fieldes of the Campanes, be-
fore the newe come was come vp of a
good height, & able to be fother for theyr
cattell. Than he came thyther agayne,
and caused it to be gathered & brought to
Claudius tentes aboue Huccula, where
he provided for the wynter, commaun-
dyng Marcus Claudius, that he leauing
a necessarie garrison at Pola for the de-
fence therof, shuld send the residue of the
souldours to Rome, lefft that they shuld
be bothe a charge to theyr frendes, and a
cost to the conounon wealth.

In the ende of sommer, whan al these
thinges were done, came letters from
the Scipions, what greate & prosperous
actes they had done in Spayne: but all
theyr money grayne and clothyng for
theyr souldours, & sea men was spent.
Thyche beyng pondered in the Se-
nate,

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 113
state, all thynges necessarie were ordyned
and sent to them. And whā these tri-
pendes and necessaries were come into
Spayne, the towne of Illiturgus was
besyeged of Hasdrubal Mago & Amilcar,
the sonne of Bomilcar, for anger that
they had changed their hartes, & yelded
them to the romains. Neuerthelesse tho-
rough all these thre hostes the Scipions
valiantly entred into the towne of theyr
frendes, not withoute greate fighte and
slaughter, bryngyng wyth theym of
grayne good plentye, whereof they had
great nede there, exhorting the citezenes so
valsauntlye to kepe and defende theyr
towm as they perceiued the Romains to
fight for the. Soone after they issud out
to assape the great campe, wherof Has-
drubal was capitaine. Thyther came to
his succours the other two capytaines of
the Cartaginenses with theyr two ho-
stes, for therre they knew well shoule be
the greatest battayle and most busynes.
And than sodeinly rennyng out of theyr
tentes, they mette together and fought.
There were of the Cartaginenses at
that bataille. Ix. M. And of y Romaines a-
bout. 15. M. neuerthelesse y bataille was

The warres betwene the
was so prosperous, that the Romaynes
slew more of theyr ennemis, than they
were in number theym selues, and tooke
thre thousande psoners, and almosste
90. horses, with. lir. standerdes and ba-
ners. They slew also. v. elephantes, and
wonne thre tentes of theyr ennemys.
Than the Illiturgites were thus de-
liuered from the siege, the Carthaginens-
ses furnyshed theyr hostes agayne wyth
new men, chose n oute of the prouynces,
that were mosste desyrous of war, where
anye praye or wages was to be gotten:
And than wente to laye siege to a towne
called Incibidi. The Romayns folowed
and fought with them, with like successe
as before. There were slayne aboue. xiiii.
9. Carthaginenses: and aboue. iii. 9.
taken, with. xlvi. standerdes, and. ii. E-
lephantes. Than almosste all the people
of Spayne tourned to the Romayns. In
that sommer the busynes of warre was
much more in Spayne than in Italy.
So soone as Hanno was retourned
from Campania to the Brusianes, he
incontinent by the helpe of the Brusi-
ans, invaded the cities of Grece, whiche
were in amisee with the Romayns; and

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 113
so muche the rather kept frendship wyth
the Romaynes, for that the Brussians,
whom they both hated and feared, were
of the part of the Carthaginenses. And
syrt they proued a citee called Rheygium
but whan they perceiued it to be strong,
and wolde not yelde, they leste it, and
went towardes the Lorrensis, whych in
short space were brought vnder subjecti-
on. And from thens wythout takynge of
Rheygium they remoued awaie. And
shortly after the Brussians beyng dys-
pleased, that the Lorrensis and Rheygiū
were not destroyed, began warre upon a
ryche citee of Grece, situate on the sea
syde, called Croto, whych they longe as-
sayled in vaine, but at the laste, by the
helpe of Hanno, they wanne it: and all
the people were suffred to goe to the Lo-
rensis, and to inhabite there. Durynge
the time of wynter the Romaynes and
Anniball were not ydell. Scipionius
the consul laye at Pucera, and Annibal
wintered at Arpos. There was betwixte
theym smalle bickerynges and skyrry-
nges, as oportunytee and tyme was ge-
uen to both partes: but for the most part
the Romaynes preuyaled against them,
and

The warres betwene the
and dayly wared more circumspete am-
sure from theyd disceytes.

x. The oration of Quintus Fabius Mar-
tius, touching the election of the Cons-
sules in that daungerous season

Cap. xxxii.

At the yeres end Quintus Fa-
bius, by the commandemente
of the Senate, so tyfyd and
left a strong garrison at Pute-
olus, and from thens came to ROME to
the chosynge of new officers. Whan the
daye of election was come, in whiche the
yenge men bare greate rule, Titus De-
facilius, and Marcus Aemilius Regulus
were chosen consuls. Than Quintus
Fabius, causyng every man to kepe si-
lence, spake after this maner.

If ye had peace in Italy, or els warre
against one, in whom might be found at
any tyme negligēce or erro: tha I wolde
suppose him littel to remember your ly-
berty, that wold withstand or let you to
preferre vnto honor whome you wolde.
But nowe, seing y in this warre, & with
this enemy, none of our captaines inter-
mede

Romaynes and the Carthaginies. 114
idle negigētly, wout our great slaugh-
ter: ye ought with the same care and cir-
cumspetion chuse your capitaines, with
whiche ye wold desire to descend into bat-
aille. And I wold y euery man shuld say
to hym selfe. I do chuse a consull and ca-
pitaine like unto Annibal. This last yere
at Capua, Claudioz Asellus, a noble ro-
mayne horseman, was set to incounter
and do battaile with Jubellius Tauræ,
a noble knyghte of Capua: & in olde time
our soveraynes sent Manlius hardy and
rusty, both in herte & strength, agaist
a french man, that prouoked him to bat-
taile, at the bridge of Anienus, not long
after for the same cause, Marcus Mal-
cius was greatly esteemed, which fought
with a french man, likewise prouokynge
him to battaile. And euē so as we desire
to haue souldiours more strong than our
ennemyes, or at the leste, suche as maye
be equall vnto them in prouesse, euen
so let vs seke and chuse gouernours, like
vnto the Capytayne of oure ennemyes.
But whanne we haue chosen one to
be chiefe Capytayne in the citee, than he
being sodeinly created but for one yeaire,
shall bee sente for the agaynste the olde
and

The warres betwene the
and continuall capitaynie of oure ene-
myes. They chaunge not theyz gouer-
nour: but at the yeares ende we chaunge
our olde for a newe: so that by the tym
that all thyngs be in order, and that our
new man hath gotten good exeryence,
the yere is past, and a newe muste be put
in his rōume. How can thinges prosper,
that thus be gouerned? Nowe, because I
haue suffisently spoken, what maner of
men ye ought to chuse consulles: I wyl
speake a lyttel of those, to whome the fa-
vour of this election hath inclyned.
Marcus Aemilius is one of the sacred
preyestes, whome we cannot sende from
the sacrifice, but we shall wante the ser-
vice due and accustomed to the goddes.
And you Octacilius haue maryed my
sters daughter, and haue chldren by hir.
Neverthelesse your merytes and deserts
towardes me and my frendes are not
suche, but that I haue moze respecte to
the common welth than to my pryuate
busynes. Every maryner can incalme
wether rule the shyppe, but whan the
sharpe stormes arype, the sea being trou-
bled, & the shyppe tossed with the windes
Whan is there nedē of a man, and a go-
uernour

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. ¶
uerour. We sayle not now quicly, but
are with troublous stormes almost draw-
ned. Therfore we must prouide wyth
greate diligence, who shall gouerne the
sterne or helme: yea we must therof take
hede before. We haue proued thy dili-
gence. Octacilius in lesser busynesse,
wherin trulye thou diddest not deserue
that ws should committē to the any grea-
ter charge: For thre causes we sent forth
a nauy the last yere, of which thou were
gouernour. Firsse that the border of Af-
rica shold haue bene wasted & destroied
Seconde, that the hauens or strondes of
Italy shold haue bene kepte safe for vs:
And before al thinges that no succour, st-
pend, or other necessaries, being sent fro
Carthage to Anniball, shold haue free
passage. I am contente that ye make E.
Octacilius consull, if he can proue, that
he did performe to the comon welth any
of these thinges to him committed. But
if thou being capitaine of the nauye, all
that was sente from Carthage to Anniball
had as free passage, as though the
sea had bene open: And if the borders of
Italy this yere were more indaungered
than the borders of Africa: What canst
O. I. thou.

The warres betwene the
thou alledge for thy selfe, that thou shouldest be chosen chiese capitaine agaynst Annibale: it appertayneth to no man more than to the Titus Octiacilius, to take heede, that such a burthen be not laid on thy necke, the weight whereof will peise the down. I do admonishe and perswade you all, that in chosinge youre consuls at this time, ye vse the same circumspection that ye woulde vse, if ye were driuene to chose twayne to governe your battaille, when ye being in harneyse on the plaine agaynst youre enemis were readye to fight with them. Trasimenus and the example of Cannas, are very sorrowfull to be remembred: but they are ryght profitable, and a good document, to beware of such an other.

After this oration, the prerogative of the yong men was called in agayne: And the went they to a newe election: in the which Quintus Fabius him selfe was created the fourth time consul: and Marcus Marcellus the thirde time. These were creted wythoute anye vargaunce: Neyther dyd anye man suspecte Quintus Fabius of courteous of rule and gouernaunce but rather they praysed the noblenes and

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. courage of his heart. For that when he sawe, that the common wealth did want a good capitaine, and knewe him selfe without doubt to be one: esteemed the enemie, that he shoulde haue (if anye shoulde arise of that matter) leste then the profyte of the common welth.

When al thinges were ordeyned with great care and diligence for the warres in all partes, the Campaynes maruayling of the great and exquisite ordinance of the Romaines, which was much greater than it was wont to be, and fearyng greatly, least they woulde that pearre begin warre vpon them: they sent legates to Anniball incontinent, desyryng hym to moue his armie to Capua, shewing him, that the Romaynes hoste was chosen and prescribed to besiege Capua, for that the defection of them was more displeauntly taken of the Romaynes, than of any citee in Italye. And because the matter was so fearefully pronounced onto him, he made the greater spedde to come thither before y Romayns. Then he had bene there a seasson, he left certain of the Numidians & spaniards to defend the citee, and wente him selfe to the

The warres betwene the
lake of Auernus, vnder þ colour to make
sacrifice. Notwithstandinge his pretence
was to set on Puteolus, and theym that
were left there in garrison.

When Fabius Varimus heard, that
Annibal was gone from Arpos, and turned agayne to Campania, wþhoute resting night or day, he went to the hoste,
and caused T. Gracchus to remoue from
Luceria to Beneuentum, & made Quintus Fabius his sonne to abide in his
place at Luceria: and him selfe came to
Castilium, intending to besiege it, and
the Carthaginenses that were therein.
The same time (as it were a thinge appoynted) Hanno came from the Num
ans with a great hoste of horsemen and
footemen, to Beneuentum: but it chanced so, þ Titus Gracchus came from Lu
ceria thither, somewhat before him and entred the towne. And when he heard that
Hanno had pitched his tentes. iii. miles
from the towne, at a water called Ca
lo, and wasserd the countrey, he went him
selfe out of the towne and pitched his
tentes a mile from his enemy, & thereto
had an assemble of souldiours, whereto
the most part were of bondmen, that ha

bene

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 117
bene in the warre the yere before. These
bondmen thought by their deserte to be
made free, before they woulde desire it o
penly: notwithstanding he perceyued a
murmour of some of them, complayning
and sayeng: Shal we never be free, and
do battayle like free souldiours and cite
zens. Wherof he wrote letters to the se
nate, as well of their desire, as of they
deseruing, sayeng, that he had ever vnto
that daye had their good saythefull and
strong helpe, & that they wanted nothing
that beloged to good and iuste souldiours
saing liberty. Concerning that matter
it was permitted vnto him, to do that
which he shold thinke mete for the pro
fite of the common welth. Whereupon,
before he would do battayle with his ad
uersary, he shewed his men, that þ time
in which they might obtaine their liber
tee, that they so longe desired and hoped
after, for the next day they shoulde fyght
in a fayre and plaine fielde, where the
battail shoulde be done without any feare
of deceipte, with cleane strength and har
dines, and he that then would shewe the
heade of one of his enimies, stryken o
in battaille, shoulde freyght way be mad

D. iii. fr. 5

The warres betwene the
free: and he that fledde shoulde be puny-
shed with vile seruitude for euer.
¶ Therefore nowe (sayd he) euery mans
fortune lyeth in his owne handes. For
the confyrmation of which his wordes,
he sayde, that he alone was not the au-
toire of theyz libertee: but that Marcus
Marcellus the consull, and the fathers
conscript were agreeable to the same.
And therof he had sent hym theyz letters
whych he shewed and red vnto them.
At these his wordes there arose a greate
noyse among them, desiring battaile in
contenant, if it myght so please him.
Then Gracchus lette the Convocation
passe, and appointed the battaile agains-
the nerte daye. The souldiours were
very glad, and in especiall those,
which supposed theyz wages
for one daye to be perpe-
tuall libertye.

The battaile betwene Hanno and Gracchus
with the rewardes, and also the punish-
ment awarded by Gracchus to cer-
taine bondemen of his hoste.
Cap. xxxii.

The

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 118

He nerte daye when the trum-
pettes blewe to battaile, they
came together in good araye,
and anone vpon the sonne ry-
sing Gracchus broughte his souldiours
into battaile. And theyz enemies made
no tarieng for theyz part. There were of
them. xvii. M. footemen, and one. M. ii.
hundred horsemen, the battaile was ve-
ry sharpe, & lasted. iiiii, houres, not know-
ing which shold haue the victory. Ther
was nothing troubled y Romaius more
than the heades of theyz enemies which
Gracchus had appoynted to be the price
of their libertee. ¶ Herfore euer as they
had striken downe any of theyz enemies
they would strike of his head, and beare
it in theyz handes in stede of weapon.
Whych thing Gracchus apperceyunge
commaunded that euery man shoulde
leauie the head that he had in his hande,
and take his weapon and syghte. Then
the battaile beganne more fierce than be-
fore, the captaynes on bothe partes ex-
horting theyz men to syght. Gracchus
shewed his people, that if theyz ene-
mies were not that day put to vtterance
they shold never looks for theyz liber-
tee

The warres betwene the
fee. When the souldours heard him say
so, theyz heartes were so kynedled, that
they ranne fresshe vpon theyz ennemis,
wyth so greate violence, that they were
not able to susteyne theyz myght and cou-
rage, but incontynente fledde towarde
theyz campe. The Romaynes folowing
and pursyng the, made a greater slaug-
ter in the flight, than they dis, before in
the battayle. There escaped not of the
hole hoste, aboue two thousande whyche
fledde wyth theyz capitayne awaie, the
moste parte were horsemen, all the res-
idue were eyther slayne or taken. There
were not staine of the Romans passing
two thousand. When they were retour-
ned into theyz tentes, loden with theyz
great pray iiii. thousande of the bond-
men, whych had done euel theyz deuoir
that daye in battaile, had gotten a lytell
hill not farre from the tentes, who were
setched agayne the daye folowing by the
Tribunes, and cams to the conuocation
or court holden by Gracchus to the soul-
dours; wherin he rewarded the olde soul-
dours as he thoughte every one had de-
serued. Then as concerning the bondme-
thy

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thy and vnworthye shoulde that tyme be
prayled of hym than punysshed: neuer-
thelesse, because it had chaunced well to
the commune welth and to them, he com-
maunded that all shuld be free, at which
commaundement all at ones thankynge
bym, desyred all welth to the Romaines
and to hym. Than sayd Gracchus: Now
haue I fully performed my promise of li-
berty to you al vniuersally: neuerthelesse
to thentente it maye be knowen, that I
wyll put difference betwene well doynge
and euyl doynge, betwene vertuous cou-
rage, and cowardenesse, I wyll that ye
brynge me the names of all those, which
departed from the syelde the daye before.
That done, he caused theym all to be
sworne, that none of them shoulde other-
cate or dynke otherwyse than standinge
(onelesse they were diseased) so longe as
they serued in the warres. This punish-
ment (sayde he) ye shal paciently take, ys
ye consider with your selues, that I could
not haue noted you with a lesse marke for
your cowardysse than that is. Than com-
maunded he them to trusse vp their stuffe,
which done, the souldours wyth greate
praye came to Beneventum, not lyke
mair

The warres betwene the

Men that came from battaille, but as me-
ry as though they had come from a ban-
ket. The citizens receaved them merua-
lous thankefullly, and desired Gracchus
that he wolde suffer the scouldours to
feast with them, whiche he graunted.

¶ Whyles these thynges were done at
Beneuentum, Annibal wastynge the fiel-
des of the Neapolitanes, moued hys
tentes to Pola. Whiche whan the con-
sul Marcellus percevued, he sent for pom-
ponius the pretor to mete hym, with the
hostes that laye at Suessula, intendyng
that they bothe together wolde meeete
hym, and he sent Claudius Nero with a
stronge company of horsemen oute of the
towne by nyghte, to compasse Anniball
on the other side by comanding hym, that
whan he saw the battaille was begunne,
he shold set vppon hys enemies at theyz
backes. Whiche hys dityse Nero coulde
not bynge to passe, eyther because he
knew not the cumberosomz wayes of the
country, or els for that the shortenes of
the time woulde not suffer hym. Marcell-
lus in the morninge met with hys enne-
mies, and gaue them battaille in the whi-
che he had the victorye, and caused hys
ennemis

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. no
ennemys to flee, neuerthelesse he durste
not folow them, because he wanted hys
horsemen. Wherfore he caused hys men
to recule. There were . ii. thousande of
theyz enemys slayne, and not. iii. hun-
dred of the romains. Pero and the horse-
men, labouring in vaine the nyghte and
the day, without seing his enemies came
home about the sonne sette. For whyche
his vaine iourney, he was sore rebuked
of the consul saiyng, that he was the cause
as than, that theyz ennemis had not re-
ceaved as great losse as they gaue at Ca-
nas. The next day the Romans discended
into the fieldes, but Annibal kept hym in
his tentes, knowlegynge hym selfe to be
ouercome, and the thrid daye, withoute
hope of optaining Pola, trussing to haue
better spede, remoued to Tarentum.

Quintus Fabius, the other Consull,
had his tentes at Cassilinum which was
kept with. ii. P. of the Campanes, and
vii. C. of Anniballes scouldours. He cau-
sed Marcellus to come to hym wyth hys
hoste. And ys that the Polans thoughte
them selfes not safe from Anniball, that
they shuld sed to Beneuetū to Gracchus,
to come to theyz succours. Which thing
done

The warres betwene the
Spaine, Cassilium was quickelye won,
and the soulvies that were there, as wel
of Annibals as of Capua, were taken,
and sente to Rome, and there put in pris-
on. There were take by Fabius at that
time many cities in Italye, and in them
to the number of. xxv. M. of Anniballes
souldours and frends taken and slaine,
besyde. iii. C. lxx. vacabundes and runa-
waies, whiche were taken and sente to
Rome, and there whyppe with roddes,
and after put to death.

Co The cities of Sagunt in Spayne, and Ar-
pos in Italy are wonne by the Romaynes,
king Siphar is become frend to the Ro-
mains, and is overcome in battaile by
Massanissa. Cap. xxxv.

Here were the same yeare in
Spayne manye battayles be-
twene Hago and Hasdruball
the capytaines of carthage and
the Scipions, so; before the Romaine ca-
pitaines could passe the riber of Iberus,
Hago and Hasdrubal had slayne a great
number of Spaniardes, frends to the
Romaynes, and had obeyned the bter
parte

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parte of Spayne, had not the Scipions
come in tyme: whose comynge stayed the
wauering mindes of many of that coun-
try. And there was betwirte the two
capitaines greate and manye batayles
foughten, in the whiche the Romaynes
had alwaies the upperhande: and in sun-
dry battailes slewe greate armyes of the
Carthaginenses and theyr frendes, wan-
diuers townes and castels, brought their
ennemy to so low an ebbe, that of a long
season they were glad to rest, doinge no
acte worthy memory. Thā the Romaine
capitaines, remembryng that the citee
of sagunt had ben so long oppressed with
the yoke of dominyon of the Carthagi-
nenses, they remoued theyr hoste thither
and wanne the citee againe, whych they
restored to the olde inhabitantes thereof,
that were leste on lyue. Than they in-
uade the Turditans, who were the firste
causers of the warre with the Carthagi-
nenses, whom they wan shortly, and de-
stroyed their cities. These dedes were
done in Spaine Quintus Fabius Mari-
mus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus
beyng consuls. Than the officers for the
tere to come, were chose at rome: where
Quintus

The warres betwene the
Quintus Fabius the yonger , Sonne
to the olde Consull, was chosen one of
the Consuls : and Titus Sempronius
Gracchus the other : Then all the other
officers in order. When to euerye cap-
tayne was assigned his hoste and warde
the warres agaynt Anniball were com-
mitted to the Consulles : Sempronius
Went to the Lucanes , & Fabius to Apu-
lia. The father wente as legate to the
sonne, to shewe him of the minde of the
Senate. This yong Fabius laye then at
the campe aboue Huerula: who hearyng
that his father was come to him as am-
bassadour from the senate, came forth to
mete him in his roial estate, with his. xiij.
sergeantes beforis him, but. xij. of his ser-
geantes beholdinge the maiestye of olde
Fabius as he came riding, passed by and
nothing sayd to him. Than the sonne be-
ing consul, commaunded the. xii. sergeant
to take heede to his office. He also with a
lowde voyce commaunded his father to
descend frō his horse. Than incontinent
his father alighted, and sayde. I did this
sonne, onely to proue whether thou did-
dest knowe, that thou art consull or not,
& so proceded forth with him, declaringe

as

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as was geuen him in charge.
Sone after came to the same consull into
the campe one Clastius Altinius wyth
his three sergaentes, from the towne of
Arpos, promising for a good rewarde to
deliver him Arpos. This matter was de-
bated amonge the counsell, and by the
more parte agreed, that this Altinius
should be scourged and slayne, as an in-
constant traytour and common enemye,
consideryng that firsse he , after the bat-
tayle of Cannas, was causer of the yel-
dinge of the towne to Anniball chaun-
ging his fidelite as fortune chaunged,
And nowe agayne, seinge the power of
the Romaynes to begin to rise in prospe-
rity, he would begin a newe treason.
Wherfore they thought it not to be suf-
ficed, but that he shoulde be ordred as an
vntrwe felowe and a vayne enemye.
Agaynst whiche they determination
spake olde Quin. Fabius, sayenge, that
they oughte to consider the perillous
tyme of warre, and so to proceede, that
they lose none of theyz faythfull friendes
by any occasion or example that they dyd
shewe: but by all meanes possible, if any
of theyz fryendes were fallen frome
them

The warres betwene the
them, to finde meanes to purchase them
againe. And whan any of them knowled
geth their offences, & desireth to returne
to their olde amitee: with greate gentil
nes to receiue them. For in case ye wyl
admitte it to be more heynous for our
frendes to retourne againe to vs, than
it is for them to goe from vs, there is no
doubt, but shortly we shall see the molle
parte of oure frendes in Italy leauie our
frendshippe, and alye them selues with
Annibal. Neuerthelesse (sayeth he) I wyl
not aduise you to geue muche faith to Al
tinus, but keping a good meane, no[n] trust him
as a frend, but that he be sente to some of
youre cities nere adsoynnyng, there to be
safely kept, till the warres be ended: at
whiche time we may at length consulte
whether the syrlis his departing from vs
hathe deserued more punishmente, than
his retourne hath deserued pardon. This
his aduise toke place. He was sente with
his company to Cales. And the Consull
determined, to besiege Arpos. Wherfor
folowinge his purpose, he pytched his
campe within a mile of the towne wher
he myghte vew the towne, & therer
celled

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 123
celued on the one part therof, which was
least vsed, a lowe gate and a narowe.
To this gate he appointed certayne good
capitaines, and. vi. c. actiue souldiours,
to beare scaling ladders about thre of the
clocke in the morning before daye, com
maundynge them syrste to assay to scale
that towre: whyche done, then on the in
ner parte to breaue downe the walles o[
the gate, and beinge maysters of parte of
the towne, by the sowne of a horne, to
geue him knowledge, whereby he wyth
the reste of his hoste myghte approche to
therir succour. This his devise with sped
was executed. And the chaunce was such
that one thinge, whyche was thoughte
would be a great let of their purpose bess
holpe them, and disceyued their enemies
whych was, that about the middes of the
nyghe, there fell so great aboundaunce
of raine, with so vehement a storme, that
the watchemen were of force dryuen, lea
ving theyr appoynted places on the wal
les, to descend and enter into their hou
ses, where abiding a good season, they fel
on slepe. In this whyle had the Romans
scaled the walles, and were busye to
breaue vp the gates, Whose noyse was

R. I. met

The warres betwene the
not hearde of the watchement : Rude was the storme , and suchenly
made the huge rayne . Than blewe they
hornes : at whose sound the consul drame
nere , and about the breake of the day en-
tered the citee by the broken gate . Than
was theyz entre dyscried . There was of
Anniballes men in the towne . v. M. sou-
dyours , the towne also had armed . iii.
thousand men , whyche townes men the
Carthaginenses caused to goe in the front
of the bataile , mistrustyng to haue them
behynде at theyz backes . After a lytell
skrymyshyng in the stretes , dyuers of the
townes men of Arpos , and certaynes
the Romaynes , whyche were before
acquaintaunce , beganne to common and
talke together . First spake the Romains
and sayde : O ye men of Arpos , what
do ye meane , to take part with these bar-
barous naciō against your owne country-
men ? wherin haue the Romains offendid
you ? or what haue the Carthaginenses
deserued unto you , that ye shuld thus tri-
uaile to make Italy subiect & tributary to
Affrica : the Arpians excused the selues
saying , that they were betraied , and sold
by their captaines to the Carthaginenses

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and almost vitterly destroyed . These con-
munication stayed the fighting . And af-
ter a certayne space , the pretor or gouer-
nor of the towne was broughte by his
men to the consill : Therere they so well
greed , that incontinent the Arpians toke
the part of the Romains against the Car-
thaginenses . There were also in y towne
about a thousand spaniardes , who all in
þekewyse tourned to the Romaines : but
þist they opteyned of the consul , that the
garrison of the Carthaginenses myght
freely depart the towne , to go at theyz li-
bertee : Whiche was trulye percou-
red . They departed to Salapia , where
Hanniball was , and the towne inconty-
nenct was deliuered to the Romaynes ,
without losse of any of theyz army .
The Scipions in this space had brought
þeyz busynesse prosperously to passe in
Spanye , bothe in conseruing theyz olde
rendedes , and gettinge of newe : besides
his sodaynelye they had conforme to do
good in Affrica , by the reason of one Sy-
phar , a kinge of Numidia , who as than
was become an enemye to the Cartha-
ginenses . To this king were sent . iii. le-
gates that shuld bring him in amitee w
R. ii. the

The warres betwene the
the Romans and also cause him to make
warre upon the Carthaginenses. This
message was also very acceptable to Syphar.
Wherupon he reasoned wþtþ
legates, that were expert men of warre,
and perceyued manye thinges wherein
he and his men before were ignorant.
Wherfore when they would haue departed,
he intreated them, that two of them
would retourne home to theyz capitaynes
to desire a sure aliaunce betweene him
and the Romayns, and to ascertayne
of his full minde: and that the thydes
them might remayne stil with him, to be
gouernour of his armie, sayeng that his
men were good horsemen, but they were
nothing skilfull to fighte on foote. To
this his request they agreed, & departed,
taking the kinges oþe and promise, that
in case theyz capitaynes would not agree
thereto: that Incontinentiæ theyz selow
which was left behinde, shold be sent
home to them agayne. The name of him
that remayned with king Syphar, was
Statonius, who anone chose out a great
numbre of yonge and aciue men, whom
he taught to folowe theyz baners, and
kepe theyz araye after the Romayne

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leton: So that in shorte space, Syphar
thought him selfe able, both on horsback
and on foote, to geue battayle to the Car-
thaginenses. Thus was there a faire
bande of peace and amitee betwene the
Romaynes and Syphar.

Whan the Carthaginenses were ware
þttercof, they sente incontinentiæ messan-
gers to one Gala, king of the other parte
of Numidia. This Gala had a sonne of
þvii. yeares of age, a noble & wise yonge
man, called Massanissa. The ambassa-
dours shewed the kyng, that better it
were for him, with their heþpe to ouer-
come Syphar betime: þā by his meanes
the Romaynes shold haue any entre in-
to Affrica.

With suche wordes, they persuaded
Gala to the warre: and muche the sooner
for that Massanissa his sonne desyred to
be gouernour of that army. Wherupon
the armie of the Carthaginenses was
joined to Massanissa his armie. And at
the first battaile Syphar was overcome
and xxx. of his men slayne: so that
with a fewe horsemen he fledde to the
Mauritaines, that inhabited nigh the
gades oþ pyllars of Hercules, where he
gathere

The warres betwene the
gathered a newe army of men, thinking
to saile ouer into Spaine: but ere ever he
he could take the water Massanissa with
his armie came on him, and withoute
the helpe of the Carthaginenses, fough
a noble battayle with him, & ouercame
him.

Anniball through the treason of Nico and
Philomenes, winneth the cyte of
Tarent. Cap. xxxvi.

Anibal this seaso ever having
hope, that the citie of Tarent
shuld by one meane or other
be wonne, as is before sayde,
made his abode not farre from that citie
And to bringe his opinio to his purpose,
there happed a fortunate chaunce by the
meanes of one Phileas a Tarentine,
who longe time had taried at Rome, as
a messenger of the Tarentines. Then
were then at Rome diuers pledges of
the noble bloude of Tarente, kepte in
gentill kepinge. To these pledges this
Phileas founde the meane to haue often
recourse, and at length he so corrupte
the kepers that they suffered them to
depart out of the city in the beginning

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the night: and Phileas went with the to
guide the by secrete wayes. In the mor-
ning early the fame of y pledges depar-
ting was spred abrode through the citee,
& a great numbre pursued the with sped
so that before they had farre trauyaled,
they ouertoke the: & brought the al backe
agayne into the citee: where soz theyz of-
fences, iudgement was geuen that they
should be first scourged with roddes na-
ked, and the brought to a high recke: fro
the toppe wherof they shold be thowt
downe to the ground.

This cruell ende of those nobles offend-
ed much the mindes of diuers cities in
Italye and Greece, speciallye those that
were of kinne or by amitie alped to anys
of them that were slaine: among which
sozt. xiii. of the nobles of Tarente con-
spired against the Romans, of whō the
capitaynes and chiese were Nico & Phi-
lomenes. They were great hunters, &
vsed muche to go oute of the citee in the
nighte to go on huntinge. Therfore by
the colour of goinge on huntinge they
went toward the army of Anniball, in-
tending to speake with him, & to declare
vnto him their intentes. Whē they came
nere

The warres betwene the
nere the campe, they too leauynge their
company in a woodde nere adiournyng,
wente to the campe: & anone were taken
of the watchemen, and brought to Annib
ball, as theyz request was, to whom they
declared theyz purpose and good wyll.
And he gaue them great thankes, and
lente them home agayne loden wth
sayre promyses. And to couer the bet
ter theyz deuyse, he wylled them to dwye
with them certayne cattayle of the Car
thaginenses, saicyng, they hadde gotten
that praye of theyz ennemys: whyche
they were suffered to doe wythoute re
sistence: and broughte them home to Ta
rent with ioye. This vsed they to doe of
tentymes, so that it was thoughte mer
uayle, that they so often enterprised such
feates, and euer escaped bnslayne.

Thus often they vsed and euer whan
they killed any venyson, or brought anye
pray from the Carthaginenses (whyche
they were suffered to doe at all tymes at
theyz pleasures) they eyther gaue it to
the capytaine of the citee, a Romaine, o
elles to the porter of the gates: so that
they hadde broughte the Porter in such
a custome, that whan so euer Philome
nes

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nes dyd but whystell, at all tymes of the
nyghte, the gates were opened unto
hym.

Whan they had broughte all thynges
in this good case for theyz purpose they
wente to Annibal, and agreed with him
on this couenaunt, that the Tarentines
shuld lyue etier vnder theyz owne lawes
and customes. Also that they shoulde
paye hym no Trybute, nor haue any ar
mye appoynted by Hannibal to kepe the
ctee, but at theyz owne pleasure. And
that they shulde enioye all theyz goodes.
Only that the souldours of the Romai
nes, whyche were in the ctee, and, theyz
gooddes, shuld be at the pleasure and wil
of Hannibal. Than laye Hanniball. iiiii.
daies journey from Tarent, & because he
wolde not haue his longe abode there, to
be suspecte, he fayned hym selfe to bee
sycke, and caused it to be bruted abzode,
that his sicknes was the cause of his long
lynge in that one place. But agaynst
the time he wolde haue the towne, he
chose oute. x. thousand horsemen, and of
the lightest footemen of hys armye: and
remoued from hys campe in the nyghte,
making spedē til he came wi[n], xv. mile of
Tarent

The wortes betwene the

Tarent, where he secretly abode, char-
ging his men, in no wise to break them
aray or order: but that they shuld be redy
to doe what theyr capitaynes dyd com-
maund them, and none other. But suff-
er he set forth, to couer the better hys re-
mouing, and to thintent that none of the
country shoulde descrie hys armye: he
sent. iii. score Punicians horsemen, to
go before hym, chargynge them to ouer-
renne the country, by whiche he wylt
his armye shoulde passe. And if they ouer-
toke any men, to bryng them backe. And
if they met with any they shuld slea them
to the intente it shoulde be thought by the
inhabitantes as they wente, that they
were robbers and cheues, and not men
of warre. The fame of theyr robbing
came to the eares of the Romayne capy-
taine at Tarent: who toke but small re-
garde thereto, thinkynge sithe Anniball
hym selfe was syke, and hys armye so
farre of, that he wolde the next day sende
for the certaine of hys men of armes, to
dryue awaie those robbers, and to save
the corne and cattel of his frendes. The
same nyghte, in the deade parte thereof,
remoyed Anniball towarde Tarent,

having

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hauyng Philomenes with hym, as hys
guide. Whan they came nigh to y towne,
it was appoynted, that Philomenes
shoulde enter the towne, with a number
of men in harness, at the gate, where he
was wont to enter, bryngynge his praye
from hunting. Whan he came thither,
he awaked the porter, saying, that he had
brought a great boore that he had slayne.
At the fyre call the porter opened the
gates: and fyre let in two yonge men of
his company: than entred he, & other hys
seruantes, pluckynge in the greate boore.
At whose creatures whyle the keper was
darynge and musynge, Philomenes so-
denly slewe hym with his boore speare or
hunting stasse: and incōtinent let in. xxx.
other men in harness, who slewe the o-
ther watchemen of the sayd gate: & with-
out noise let in the rest of the armye, and
secretely broughte them into the market
place, where they abode a space without
making any noise. Whiles this was done
at one gate, Annibal, with a great num-
ber wyth hym, came priuily toward ano-
ther gate, and a farre of he made a great
fyre, whiche was a signe or token made
betwene hym and Pico, who abode with
other

The warres betwene the

Other his complices, redy w in the towne
loking for his commynge. Whiche sy
Whan Pico perceiued, he (as it were an
sweringe to the same) made him another
fyre. And whan eyther perceyued other,
incontinent both their fiers were sodein
ly put out. And Annibal beganne to ap
proche with his army to the gates. Pico
also within the citee, came to the porters
ward, which he found open, and finding
the watche on slepe, slewe all the kepers
therof, and opening the gates, let Annib
al and his company of footemen enter:
for the hoytemen were commaunded to
abyde in the playnes without, to do there
as nede required. Thus they entred the
towne, and makynge no noyse, came in
to the market place, where they mette
with Philomenes, & his other company.
Whā had he in his company. ii. B. french
men, whiche he deuided in thre e partes,
and sente them to dyuers partes of the
citee. The Africanes & the Tarentines
he caused to kepe the molle accustomed
streets of the towne: commaundynge
them, to slea, al the romaines, but in any
wyse to sparke the Tarentine citezens.
And to that purpose he appoynted the

sayd

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sayd younge gentylmen of Tarent, thaē
were his helpers and frends, to be in the
company of the other his souldisours. So
that whan they sawe anye citezens, they
should comfort them, by odding them, not
to be affraide, soȝ they shuld haue no hurt
Than began a great rumoure and noyse
to be rayled in the towne, as is euer,
where so sodeyne chaunce happeth. The
capitayne at the syrste noyse, doubtyngs
reason, fled to the hauen, & from thense,
In a smal bote, passed ouer into the castel.

Whan the day appeared, and that the
harneis and armes of the Cartaginens
ses were perceyued, & also of the frenche
men, wyth the death of so many Romai
nes: than was it manyfest, that Annibal
had wonne the towne. There vpon the
Romaines that myghte escape, fled into
the sayd castel. Than caused Annibal the
citezens to assemble together wyrhoute
armure, to here his pleasure, which they
all obeyed. There dyd he declare vnto
them, the loue and greate affection thaē
he hathe euer borne vnto them, and the
gentylnes that he had shewyd vnto them
at the battayle of Trasymenus, and the
battayle of Cannas, whan he sente vnto
them

The warres betwene the
them such of theyz frendes, as he had ta-
ken captiues, without any hurt, impedi-
ment, or rausome. And after he exprestes
with greate inuestigues, the cruell and
pronde dominion, that the Romans ever
hadde ouer them. From the whiche he
was come to deliuer them: willinge euer-
rye one of them of the citee, to retourne
home to his house: & wyth spedē to wryte
his name on the doore of his owne house,
for incontinentē he wolde sende his soul-
dyours to spoyle and distroy such houses,
as hadde not the naines entitlēd on the
doores: Chargeyng them on peyne
of death, that none of them shold write
hys name vpon the doore of anye Ro-
man: for that was the marke, whereby
his men might knowe the houses of hys
frendes, from those of hys ennemis.

With this exhortacion he lycensed euer-
rye man to departe home, and within a
certaine space, he gaue a signe to his soul-
dyours, to spoyle the houses of the Ro-
mans. Which was done & good spople
thereof taken. On the morowe he de-
termined to assaulte the castel: but whan
he sawe the strunge naturall citee therol-
beyng halse compassed wyth the sea, bca-
tinge

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 130
sing on the great hgh rockes, and on the
other halse hauyng greate dyches and
high walles towarde the towne: he was
lothe to spende his tyme in the assaulting
therol, and to leaue other great thinges
not folowed. Neuerthelesse beyng lothe
to leaue hys frendes the Tarentines,
open to al invasions of the men of armes
of the Castell: (For to the towne they
micht at all tymes haue accesse at theyz
pleasure) he thought to make a walle and
diche on the towne syde, betwene theyz
and the castell. And he hadde this opini-
on, that whan the dyche were castynge,
the Romaynes woulde aduenture to
make excursyon on the labourers to lette
his woake and purpose. And he intended,
that ys they so fyerselye wolde doe, so to
dispose his men priuily in imbushments:
that suche slaughter of them shoulde be
made, that they shold not be able after to
hurte the towne. And even as he
thoughte, so came it to passe. For so sone
as the woake was begunne, anone the
gate and castell was sette open, and the
Romaynes came on the workemen and
Cartaginenses, wyth suche byolence,
that anone they gaue backe, & somewhat
the

The warres betwene the

the more purposelye , to enhauice they
deartes and courage, and to allure them
farther from they holde. But anone, at
a certayne token gyuen, the imbuschment
brake oute, and with suche force invades
the Romaines, that they fled backe with
muche sped towarde the castel: but than
was the strete so narowe, by the whyche
they musste passe , and they so troublid
wyth the baggage of the labourers, that
lay in their waye, that many more were
slayne in the fleyng, than were before in
syghtyng . Thus was the power of the
Castel left so smal, that afterward they
workes were never let, but that the depe
diche and walle were made in such wise,
that he needed not to leaue any garrison
in the towne. Neuerthelesse for they
garde he left a certayn of his souldours
and he with the reste of his armye remo-
ued syue myles from thense to the ryuer
of Galesus, where he pitched his tentes.
Sone after he retourned to viewe the
strength of the Castell , and thought it
myght be wonne with assaulte.
Wherupon he caused all maner of en-
gyns to be made, and set vp agaynst the
walles: to the great feare of them of the

Castel

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses.

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Castel. But sodeynely in the nyght came
a certayne of shypes of menne of warre,
from Metapontus, whych than was hol-
den with Romans, and entred the hauen
by whose healpe they of the Castel thraw-
downde, and burned all the inginnes and
munymentes of the Carthaginenses.

Wherby Anniball lost his hope of win-
ninge the castel by any assaulte: but than
he ymagined , by continuall siege to fa-
myshe them . Whiche purpose also ser-
ued him nothinge. For they of the castell
hadde the sea free on the one syde , wheres
they receyued vittailles at theyr pleasure:
And the Romaynes, beinge maysters of
the hauen , kepte all prouysyon from the
citezee, that was wonte to come by water.
So that they were much more like to en-
dure famyne, than the other of the castel,
whom they besieged . Wherfore Annib-
al, mistrusting the strength of the place,
called the rulars of Tarente before hym,
and sayde.

I beholde the nature , the site , and all
the strengthe of this castell, and I cannot
see, that any assault can preuaile, so long
as our ennemis be lordes of the sea, and
haue that at liberty. But if we may (sayd

S. i.

he)

The warres betwene the
he) haue shippes, which may restrayn
ayles to be brought to them, eyther they
will depart thens or yelde vnto vs. To
this the tarentines agreed wel: but they
sayd, that he must helpe, that some of the
nauye of Carthage, whiche were in Sicilia,
myght be caused to come thither, to
kepe the sayd porte. Whyn (sayd Annibal)
haue you no shippes of your owne. Yes
truly (sayd they) but they lye here in a li-
tell creke, and so longe as our ennemys
haue the dominion ose the mouth of the
hauen, how can they euer escape into the
broke seas. Yes sayd Anniball, feare it
not, for manye thinges, that naturallye
be letted, by wytte and pollicye maye be
brought to passe. Your citee is sicutate on
a playne & even ground, & youre stretes &
waues be broke to passe to al parts. Your
shippes will I conuay through the hgh
waye, that leadeth throughe the middell
of your citee, vpon waynes and wheles,
vnto the hauen, wyth small charge. And
the sea shalbe ours, that nowe our ennemys
be lordes of. Then both by sea and
by land, we will compasse theym, so that
shortly they shal be driven to forsake the
castell, or els we shal take both them and

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it also.

This his wyse deuyse made all men to
haue wonder and admization of hym,
wyth also a hope of a good successe of his
purpose. Forthwith all waynes and car-
ties were gathered and tyed together.
Then were engins made, to rayse and to
drawe vp the shippes, and the wayes made
hard, euen, and leuell, that they myghte
the more easely be drawen on them.
Thus wyth strength of beastes and men
the shippes were broughte to the hauen,
and in fewe dayes garnyshed wyth
men and all thynges necessarye
and broughte rounde about
the castel, casting theyz
ankers before the
mouthe of the
hauen.

Fulius Flacchus the Romayne consull, wins
neth the campe of Hanno, sleeth and taketh a
great numbre of men wyth a ryche praye
Mago sleeth Titus Gracchus, and
many Romaynes through the
treason of flavius a Lu-
cane, Cap. xxxvi.

The warres betwene the
And **V**hen Hyles Annibal was thus occupied about the busynesse of Laurent, Quintus Fulvius flaccus, & Appius Claudius, that were chosen consuls for that yeare, were come wþþ bothe their armes into the parties of the Samnites: and the rulers of Capua feared greatly, lest they dyd intend shortlye to besiege their citie. Also plenty of corne began than to saile them. For the legions of the Romaynes had so inuaded their countrey, that the Campanes durst neyther tyll nor sow þeir groundes. Wherefore they sente legates vnto Anniball, desiringe hym, to cause plenty of wheate to be brought to Capua from the countrey adioyning: before that the consuls did enter þeyr countrey with þeyr armes. Whereupon Annibal sent messangers to Hanno, that he shoulde come from the Brusians with his armes into Campania: And to make prouision, that the Campanes myghte haue good plenty of corne sent to them.

Hanno(as he was commaunded) leaþinge the Samnites, and the Consuls, passed by, till he came within. iii. myles of Beneuentum: where on a mountayne

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he pitched his campe, and in townes of his frendes adioynyng, to whiche greate plente of wheate the sommer before had bene carped, he made goodlye prouision for the Campanes, and sent word secretlye to Capua, what day they shuld, with all the waines and cartes that they could assemble in the countrey, resorte to the said places, for to sette awaie their sayde wheate. The Campanes, lightlye and skenderlye forseeinge their busynes and welth, at the day assigned, came thither, bringyng wþþ them but. iii. hundred cartes: which they slouthly Hanno greatly rebuked, meruaylyng, that they wold no more heedily auoyde hunger, whiche all brute beastes laboure to eschue. Wherefore he sente them home laden, and appoynted them another daye, to retourne againe for a muche greater quantitee.

This appoinctmente came to the eares of the Beneuentanes. Whereupon incontinent they sent tenne messangers to the Consulles, certifyinge them of all the Campanes purpose. And they forthwith agreed, that Fulvius, with hys armes shoulde go to Beneuentum, and enter the towne, in the nighete, keþyng him close therin,

theresit, tyll he salwe tyme apte for his purpose. So soone as Fulvius was entred Beneuentum, it was shewed hym that Hanno wyth a parte of his armie was gone forth for wheate: and that, ii. M. waines were come to the campe with a greate rude sorte of people unarm'd, where they laye mingled among the soldiours, kepyng no order after the use of men of warre. This knownen, the Consul commaunded his men to be ready with their baners & armure: for the next night he woulde assayle the campanes, and the tentes of the Carthaginenses. The executing his comandaument made them readye, and about. iiiii. of the clocke, they set forth of the towne, and came to Hannos campe, a litell before the dawning of the daye. At theyr syxte commyng, wyth theyr sodayne noise, the Carthaginenses became so fearefull, that if the campe had bene pitched on playne ground, they had wonne it with small resystance, but the heught of the hill, with the defences that thei had made thereabout, was such that thei could no waye get vp vnto them: but by great steppes & climbing. In the dawninge of the daye the battaile beganne to

ware

ware stronge, the Carthaginenses not only defended theyr campe, but also they kepte the hill withoute, euer thowinge downe the Romas that stroue woderly to climme the place. Neuerthelesse, at length by great payne & trauaile, and also with great losse & hurt of me, they gate to the dices of the campe. The Consull aduising wel, the mischiefe that shold fal to his company, in winning the place, called the tribunes vnto him, saien: that he wold no further at y time pursue his foische enterprise, but y he would retourne for that day to Beneuentū. And on y morowe he would ioyne his campe to y cappe of bis enmies: so that the Campanes shuld not issue out, nor hano haue recourse again to the, whē he were returned. And to bring this better & moze surely to passe he would fende for his felowe Cladius the consul, with his armie to assisse hym therin when y tribune caused the retreat to be sowned, his soldiours, y were earnestly busy about their enterprise would geue no eare thereto. Amēge other ther was one Vibilius a capitaine of a companye of the Pellingnes, who streyght tooke his bane in his hand, & with force threwe it ouer

The warres betwene the

It ouer the dicke into the campe of the carthaginenses. Than sayd he: Cull myghte I fare and my company, if nine enemies shal enioye my banner. Than by greate force he lightly wenche ouer the dicke, and clame vp, & entred the campe of his enemys: whom his compayne boldlye followed. While they thus fought within the campe of the carthaginenses, on another part cried Valerius Flaccus, what sluggishe cowardes are we now waren: shall the Pelignes win the honoure of takyng the campe of oure enemies before vs Romans? Where vpon Titus Pedanius a capitaine of a hundred men, toke his standerd in hys hand from hys standerd bearer, saynge: This standerd wyl I beare into the field of myne enemies, folowe me syrs as many as wolde be lothe of the losse therof. And anon he and his compayne were gotten into that other parte of the campe. The consul perceiuinge their hardines, changed his mynde of callinge them away, and began to confort them, exhorting the rest, to helpe their felowes, that so valiantlye fought in the campe of theyr ennemis. By whose hartye wordes, every man enforced him selfe to enter

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ter, not regardinge the darters nor weapons of their enemies, as people fearing no peryl, and as people that cared not for death, so they myghte die in the campe of their enemies. Thus within short space, that strong place was wonne, and abone vi. M. slaine, and vii. M. taken with the men of Campania, that came for corne, with all their cartes, and a rich pray that Hanno before had gotten in the feldes of the friendes of the Romanes. Whiche praye the consulles solde (for by that time was Claudius also come thither) and therewith rewarded their men, specially Tibius and Pedanius. When Hanno hearde of the losse of his people, he fledde backe agayne to the Brusianes, wyth a fewe men which he had taken with him, to get in the wheate for the Campanes. The Campanes, heringe of the losse of their men and friendes, sent to Anniball, shewing him, that both the censulis were at Beneuentum, within a dayes iorney of Capua, intendyng to lay siege to their citie. And it was to be feared, leste (yf he did not shortly succour them) that the Romans wold winne and destroy that citie. They sayde further, that nether the ca-

The Warres betwene the

Stel of Tarent, nor the towne also, ought
to be so much esteemed of him, as Capua,
the noblenes whereof he knew well hym
selfe. In so muche that he was wente to
compare it unto Cartilage. Wherefore
they trusted, that he wold not leauē it un-
defended, to haue it spoiled and dystroyed
by the Romaines.

Annibal heringe this message, he wend
to the ambassadours, what louē he bare
vnto their citee, promising to be euer a de-
fender therof. With these gentil wordes
he sente them home againe, and he sente
with them also, ii. M. horsemen, by whose
helpe they myght defend their fieldes fro
robbing and wastynge. In the meane
while. P. Cornelius the pretor, with cer-
taine shippes, laden with wheate, came
into the haue of Tarent, through the hole
power of the Carthaginenses. He cau-
sed also suche souldours as were at Met-
apontus in garrison, to come to the ca-
stell of Tarent, there to remayne for the
defence therof: by whose communge, they
of the castel were thā sure from any hurt
of their ennemis, but so soone as the in-
habitantes of Metapontus were delivered
of the Romain garrisō, they incōtinēt sel-

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 136

In leage & amitee w̄ Annibal. Therbpdō
the Thurines, also hauing a grudge to ȳ
Romans, for slinge duers of their fren-
des, as is aforesaide, devised a meane, to
bring their citee to the amitee of Annibal
The kinsmen of theim that were slayne,
sente messangers to Hanno and Mago,
who than were among the Brusias: wil-
ling them to come with their army to lay
siege to the towne: not doubtyng, but
that one Marcus Attinius, the ruler of a
smalle company of the Romaynes, lefte
for the defencie of the towne, would anon
be brought to issue out, and to geue them
battayle, vpon the truthe that he had in
the yonge men of armes of the towne:
whome before he had armed & instructed
in the seates of warre, after the Romain
facion. And they doute d not, but this soyt
woide doe hym smalle pleasure, whan he
shuld haue mosse neade of theim. The two
capitaynes, herynge this glad tidinges,
With spedē entred the fieldes of the Thu-
rines, diuydying their compayne betwene
them. Hanno with the footemen, wyth
baners displayed, in good aray, went to-
ward the towne: Mago with all the horse
men abode in a baley vnder certaine hilles
that

The warres betwene the
that were nigh the towne. Attinius kno-
winge onelye of the company of iotemen
put his men in good araye, & with greate
courage issued out of the towne, nothing
mystrusinge the myschife wroughte a-
gainste hym within the towne. The bat-
tayle was quicke on the parte of the Ro-
mans : but the Thurines stode as men
that gaue the lokynge on, not as enemies.
Hanno wyth hys men of pourpose gaue
backe , to drawe the Romaynes into the
daunger of their horsemen . And whan
they came nere the hilles, thā they fierily
assayled the Romaynes, and on the other
syde , Mago with hys horsemen came so-
dainly and egerly vpon them: at the firsse
encountringe the Thurines fledde into
the towne, as faste as they coulde . The
Romaynes for a season maynteyned the
battayle: but at the last, beinge constrain-
ned thereto, they also fledde towarde the
towne. The traitours, that were causers
of all this myschyfe hadde gotten to the
gate with their power, and agaynst the
commynge backe of the Thurines that
fled, they kepte open the gates, and recei-
ued them into the towne : but whan the
Romaines came sleynge, also thinkyng

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 137
to haue entred with the other, they cried,
It is time nowe to shut the gates, for els
we shal let the Carthaginenses into the
towne amoung our owne men , and so
lose all. Wherupon they shut their gates
and suffred the Romayns to be slayne by
their ennemis without succour. Onely
Attinius the capitaine, who gentilly had
ordered them, while he was ruler there,
they suffered to enter with a fewe wyth
hym : and incontynente they gaue him a
shippe in the bauen , & bad him sauue hym
selfe by the sea . After whose departyng
they opened the gates , and receyued the
Carthaginenses.

Nowe were the consuls departed from
Beneuentum , to assaute Capua , thin-
king, that they shuld make their yere hap-
pie and honoorable to them, if they myght
winne Capua, that was so noble & riche:
and reuenge theym of the iniuryes , by
them before done. Neverthelesse , to the
intente the Beneuentanes shold not be
left withoutte succours in theyr absence,
they sente to Titus Gracchus, who was
than in the cuntry of the Lucans , com-
maundinge him, with his horsemen and
other lighte scotemen, to come to Bene-
uentum:

The warres betwene the
Beneuentum : leauyng with the Lucan-
nes the rest of his men, vnder some cap-
taine, who he might truste.

The Lucans were than diuided, divers
townes were rendred vp to Annibal, and
certayne abode vnder the Romaynes
iurisdiction: of the which soþt the chiese ru-
lar that yere was one Flauius, a Lucan.
Thys Flauius sodeinly was tourned in
hys mynde to Annibal, and to obteyne
his fauour, he sente to Mago, that was
than among the Brusians, to come speke
with him. Than they were met, a com-
position was made betwene them, that if
he coulde deluer Gracchus, the cap-
taine of the Romaine army, the Lucanes
shulde be frendly received in amitee with
the Carthaginenses, and liue after their
owne lawes. Than brought he Mago to
a great couert, where he willed him with
a great noumber of men of armes to hide
him, & appointing him a time, at whiche
he wold bring thither the Romaine cap-
taine. After this appoyntmente he de-
parted, and went to Gracchus, to whom
he shewed, tha þe had begunne secre-
ly a great enterpyse, whiche to bryng
to effecte, he muste haue hys healpe and
assistance.

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 138
assystence. I haue (sayde he) moued and
perswaded all the princes of the Lucans,
that were gone to the amytee of Anniball,
nowe to retourne agayne to the o-
bedyence of Rome. I haue declared vnto
them the encrease of the Romaynes
power, whiche dayelye we may perceiue,
and the decrease of the streghth of the Car-
thaginenses. And I bad them not myself
trust the gentilnes of the Romas, whose
nature we haue euer tryed to bee meeke
and gentill to suche as haue rebelled a-
gainst them, vpon humble submyssion to
them made. With these my persuasions
they be all contented to be reconciled: so
that they may here you speake the same,
layinge your righte hande in theirs, as a
pledge of your faþh, whervnto they may
truste. And I haue (sayde he) undertaken,
that you shall do it, and I haue appointed
them for that composition a secret place,
wel out of the way, from our compayne,
for feare of espies, yet not far from youre
campe: where, wyth sewe woodres, you
maye go through with them in this mat-
ter, and by this meane bryng all the Lu-
canes wholly vnder your iurisdiction.
Gracchus nothing mystrustinge dyscoute
and

The warres betwene the
and treason to be in his wordes, toke hys
officers and horsemen wyth hym, all vn-
armed, and so rode to the place appointed
hauinge Flauius with hym as a guyde.
So soone as they were come thither, Ma-
go with his army inuaded them sodaine-
ly. And to make the treason more evident
Flauius incontinente ioyned hym to the
Carthaginenses. Whan was there plen-
tie of dargets caste at Gracchus, and hys
horsemen, and whan he saw no other re-
medye, he alight from his horse, and bad
his compayne doe the same, exhortyng
them, since they were but few in number
and vnarmyd, in suche place, where they
coulde by no waye escape, that they wold
not dye like beastes vntreuenged, but that
with noble hertes they shuld assaile their
ennemis, and dye bathed and bespink-
led in the bloudde of theyr ennemys:
Wherby they shold ends in most honor:
But specially aboue all thinge (sayde he)
let euerye of vs seeke to slea that Lucane
traitoure Flauius, not doubtinge, but
whosoever shall send that traitours soule
to hell, before he die him selfe, he shal find
the oblaccon thereof, to dor hym muche
conforte and solace. As soone as he hadde
thus

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 19
thus spoken, he threwe hys cloke aboue
his leste arme, in stede of his shielde, and
ranne vpon his enemies, who with their
dargets and weapons, slew most parte of
the Romaynes. And when they sawe
Gracchus without helpe, they intended
to take him on lyue: but so soone as he
perceyued Flauius among his enemies,
he ranne through the thickest of theym
with suche force, to haue slayne him, that
they were there constrainyd to slea hym
or els he had done them great hurte.
Whose body Mago caused to be brought
to Anniball, and he caused it to be buried
with much honour.

Centenius Penuia and Cneius Fulvius,
with theyr two armes, be discomfyted
and slayne by Anniball, in severall
battayles. Cap. xxxviii.



¶ this meane season were
the Consuls entred the fiel-
des of the Campanes, their
men ouerspreadding the cou-
try, robbing, spoylling, and
wastynge in diuers places, which beyng
perceyued, Mago with his horsemen, by
L. i. the

The warres betwene the
the helpe of the townes men, issued oute
sodaynelye on theym, and ere euer they
could gather together in order of battaile
slake of them one thousand, & ffeue hun-
dred. Whiche losse caused the Consulles
more circumspectly to worke in all they
procedinges afterward.

Anniball hearing of this prosperous bat-
taile of the Campanes in his absence,
drewenere vnto Capua with his armee
thinkinge that the Romaines shoulde be
much lesse able to endure his power soy-
ned to the Capanes. Wherefore the thid
day after his comming, he displayde hys
baners, and set his compani in order and
goodly aray, redy to syght. The Romas
like wise made them redy, and the horse-
men on both sides fought strongly for a
season, til both partes perceiued a strange
army coming toward them: whereof nei-
ther of them were prisiuye. The trueth
therof was, that C. Cornelius, the bear-
yng the office of Questor at Rome, had
taken the legions, whych the yere before
were vnder Sempronius, & was coming
to the ayde of the Consuls, but his com-
minge unknownen made as wel the Con-
sulles as Anniball: so that, as it
were

Romaines and the Carthaginenses. 146
were by agremet, both partes withdraw
to their campes; the Romaines havinge
somewhat more lesse than the Carthagi-
nenes. Then the Consulles Willinge to
drawe Annibal away from Capua, de-
vised the night folowyng to depart a way
Fulvius with his host, wente to destroye
the feldes of the Cumans. Appius with
his host went to the Lucans. Anniball in
the morning, hauing knollege of these
sundry departinge diuers wayes, was a
while in doubt, whether of thē he mighe
folowe: at laste he determined to folowe
Appius, wherein he was much deceyued
For he leding him a great cōpasse about
the countreies, at his pleasure, returned
againe an other waye to Capua. Than
fortune a while smiling on Annibal, sete
him such chaunces, that he was a lesse
stayed in those parties. One was the foo-
lyshe hardines of one Centenius Penu-
la a gentleman of goodly stature of body
and of noble courage of minde, corespon-
dent to the same.

This Centenius, beinge brought into
the Senate house by P. Cornelius Sulla
desired of the senatoris that he mighe,
haue deliuered him only v. M. souldiors
with whose helpe he doubted not but

The warres betwene the
that with the knowledg that he had,
both of the countreyes and also of the fea-
tes of his ennemye, he wold with the
same subtiltee & policies deceyue Anniball,
by which he before had deceyued the
Romaynes. This his vnwise promise
vnto them, was as vnwiselye belieued of
them. And where he demanded but v.
M. they gaue him viii. M. men: and he in
the countreyes as he went gathered toge-
ther almost as many mo, of such as wil-
linglye went with him, hauinge hope in
his courage and promise. With this nu-
mber of men he came into the fieldes of the
Lucanes, where Annibal had rested him
and his compayne, weary of the chace of
Appius Claudio. When eyther of the
saw others army, they incontinent put
theyz folke in array. The matche was not
equal neither of capitaines nor of soldi-
ours, neuerthelesse the battayle endured
more than two houres. Centenius per-
ceiuing his part to suffer the worse, and
fearinge, leaste if he should lye after his
men were slayne, he should suffer greate
shame and infamye, duringe his life, for
the losse of suche a numbre of men by his
foolish enterprise: at the laste willinglye
he

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 142
he entred the thickest prease of his enne-
mies, where he was shortlie slayne, and
then his men fled on all partes, but they
were so hard chased with horsemen, that
of that great company, thers escaped scat
one thousand.

One other happy chaunce fortune sent
to Anniball, as it were for a farewell or
leue taking of him, before he thought to
depart to the Romans: the occasion ther-
of was, that onz Cneius Fulvius, bea-
ring the office of Pretor, lay then in Apu-
lia with his host, besieging such townes
as before were come to the amitee of the
Carthaginenses. And in his busines he
had so wel sped, & was become so welthy
and riche, both he & his men, with praiers
whiche they had taken, that leauinge all
good order of warre, or the paynfull pur-
sute thereol, they were growen into
slouth and sluggishe ydlenes. Of theyz
vndiscrete order the Apulians sent word
to Anniball by messangers. And he kno-
wing by expecience what woulde folwe
the gouernance of an army by a vnwyse
capitaine, wherof of late he had the triall
by Centenius, with sped he remoued in
to the costes of Apulia. When the Ro-
maines

The warres betwene the
maynes had knowledges, that their ene-
mies approched, and were euen at hande:
they were al minded to displaie their ba-
niers, and to haue runne to battaile with-
out the commandemente of theyz cap-
tayne. The night folowyng, Anniball
perceiuinge their great hast to battaile
commaunded. iii. M. of his lighte men of
waire, to lie priuily hid in woods, bushes
& couertes, next adsoyning, geuing them
a signe o; token, at what time they shuld
isse out & assaile theyz ennies. The cau-
sed he Mago with. ii. M. horsemen, to ly^e
priuily in the wayes, by which he deuided
the Romaines wold flee after their dis-
conciure. These thinges in the nyghte
tyme beinge wisely disposed, earlye in the
morning he came with his hoste into the
fielde, puttinge the reste of his men in
goodly aray.

On the other side Fulvius y pretor made
no tarieng bring much inforted thereto bi
the hastye wilfulnes of his souldiourcs:
Wherfore with such adviseamente as they
came into the feild, with such like adui-
sement were the battailes ordzed. Forever
rye man went to what place him seemed
best

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 142
best, & chose his company with whom he
would be: & sometime chaunged his place
at his pleasure. The forward & the lefste
wing were first ordered & that al in length
& of a small thickenesse. The Tribunes
cryed to the, to set more strength of men,
in the intodell of their battailes, so elles
theyz ennies might easly go throughe
the with small force at theyz pleasure.
But they were so wilful, and hasty, that
they gaue no eare to theyz wordes. By
that time were the Carthaginenses come
in good order redy to ioyne: at whose first
coming with great noise & brufe, the Ro-
maines were put to the worse: wherpo
the captayne seinge all like to go to mis-
chefe, toke his horse, and wyth two hun-
dred horsemen wyth him, fled. The rest
that above, were almoste al slayne, soz of
xiii. M. of the compaニー, there escaped
not paste two thousande aliyue.
The tentes and stuffe was also taken by
the Carthaginenses, whiche was a good
praye. The fydnges of these greate so-
dayne losses were broughte to Rome,
whyche caused the citee to be in greate
feare and mournyng.

Penerthez

The warres betwene the
Neuerthelesse because both the Consuls
with their armies were safte, & did sum-
what prosper in theyz affayres, they tooke
the more comfort to them. And inconti-
nent sent messangers to the Consulles,
willing theym to searche for all suche as
were escaped at these two battayles, and
that they shoulde be gathered together,
and called vnto them: least either for feare
or for dispayre, they wold yelde them to
theyz enemies, whiche thing with all dy-
ligence they did execute.

Of The citee of Capua is beseiged by the two
Consuls, Anniball cometh to the succour of the
Citizens, giveth the Consuls battayle, from
thens goeth to Rome warde wyth hys
hoste, to thintent thereby to drawe
the Consuls from the siege of
Capua. Cap. xxxix.

In the meane season was Capua compas-
sed, and beseiged by both the Con-
sulles and greate prouision of corne
made for the same, & layde in garners
in the castel of Casselinus. Then sente
they to Suessula, for Claudius Nero the
pretor, who leauing a smal garrison there
came hym selfe to theym to Capua, wyth
al his power. Thus was Capua compas-
sed with three great armies, on. iii. par-
tes and to enclose the citisens the mox-

R omaynes and the Cartthaginensis. 143
surely, they prepared to compasse the hole
citee with a greate dicke. And therevpon
they made manye castels a good dystance
thone from the other. The campanes to
let their worke, issued oute manye tymes
and sought with the Romaines: but theyz
fortune was euer such, that they lost all
of their men, and at the laste were con-
strained to kepe them within the walles
of theyz citie. But before the workes or
siege was so straite and stronge, they had
sent ambassadours to Annibal, complai-
nyng, that he had forsaken them and his
citee of Capua: & that if he dyd not short-
lye succoure them, they muste yelde them
to the Romaines. To whom Annibal an-
swered, that of late he had rescued them,
and raised their siege ones, and that short-
lye he wolde come to helpe them againe,
not doubting, but the Romaines shoulde
be vnable to resist his power at his com-
minge. With this comfortable message
they retourned to their citee, which they
founde so compassed with a double dicke,
that with peyne could thei find the meane
to enter into it: neyther coulde they haue
entred, had not the letters of P. Corne-
lius the pretor bene, wherein he aduyled
the

The warres betwene the
the consuls, before the dyche shuld be ful-
ly fynyshe, to proclame, that as manye
of the Campanes as wolde issue wyth
their baggage and bagges, before a daye
by hym limited, shuld go free wher they
wold, and haue their goodes their owne.
After that daye, so manye as remayned,
they wold take and vse as ther enemies.
But this proclamacion was so dysdaigne-
fully taken of the Campanes, that beside
that there wold none issue out of the citee
they also spake proude and opprobrious
wordes in dispite of the Romaynes.

Wherupon the workes of the dich were
ended, and the citee fully enclosed.

Annibal, desyrous to succour his greate
frends of Capua, left al his hevy cariage
amonge the Brucians, and with a great
number of chosen horsemen and lyghte
footemen, hasted thyther as faste as he
micht, & after his host came. xxxiii. of hys
Elephantes. With this army he came to
the valey that was vnder a mountayne
adjoining to Capua, called Tisata, er the
Romans had any knowledge of his com-
ming. Thā sent he spyes to the Romans
hoste to Capua, commandinge them soone
as he shoulde geue them battaile on

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 144
his parte, that Bostar and Pago, wyth
the horsemen and garrifon of the Car-
thaginenses, assemblynge also all the po-
wer of ths citezens, shuld sodainelye issue
oute of the citee: and wyth force assaile
ther ennemys. This devise of Annibal
was executed wyth so sodayne crye and
clamoure: that the Romaynes were in
greate feare and daunger. Neuertheles
wyth as greate spedē as they coulde, they
prepared theyz battayles, and diuided
theyz people. Appius Claudius wente
to withstande the Campanes, and Ful-
uius wente against Anniball. Claudius
was strong enough for his enemys, but
Fuluius was hardly handled of the Cat-
thaginenses and Spanyards. One com-
pane or legyon of hys men were dryuen
backe, and than a great company of Spa-
niardes, with thre elephantes, bad broke
the myddel warde of the Romaynes, and
were come to the trenche of the campe,
redye to enter into the tentes and camps
of their enemies. Whan Fuluius sawe,
what daunger hys people & campe were
in, he cryed to. M. Panis, and other pe-
tie capitaines, exhortinge them to assayle
that company of Spanyards, y sought at

The warres betwene the
the Riche: shewinge them what daunger
all was in , onlesse they myghte sone be
confounded, whiche was easye enough to
be done, sence there was of them no grea-
ter a number. Hannius was a strong man,
and of a huge stature. And whan he had
the consulles exhortacion , anone he tooke
the standerde from him that bare it, and
commaunding his compayne, boldlye to
take parte with him, he set forth toward
the Spaniardes, with great courage. As
sone as the Spaniardes , saw hym draw
nere, they thre w plenty of darts at him,
and began violently to assaile hym. But
he nether besyng stayde wyth the multy-
tude of his enemys, nor with the darts
that were caste at hym, with greate force
wente still forwarde , till by the helpe of
Marcus Attilius, Portius Lucius , and
other, they had slaine the elephantes, and
made great slaughter also of Spaniards.
On the other part, the Campanes were
dwijen backe, wyth the garryson also of
Numidians and Carthaginenses: so that
the battaile was stronge euen at the very
gate of Capua, that was toward the ri-
ver of Mulfurnus . This gate was gar-
nished with crossebowes darts and other
suche

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 145°
suche ingins, whereby manye of the Ro-
maines were wounded by the shot oute of
the towre of the gate. Amonge other, the
consull Appius claudius was sore hurted
on the brest vnder the leste shoulder. Be-
uerthelesse the citezens wyth their hel-
pers were dryue into the citee with great
slaughter and losse of theyz company.
Annibal seyng the slaughter of his Spa-
niardes, and that the Romaines so man-
fullye defended theyz campes , he caused
his people to withdraw them , and made
the horsemen to abyde hindermost for the
defence of the footemen , ys theyz enne-
mies happed to chase them. The Romaines
were very eger, and wold haue fol-
lowed them in the chase , had not Flaccus
caused to sounde the retreat.

In this bataile Annibal wroughte one
craftye pointe, he sente dyuers of his men
forth, that could speake the latine tungue,
into dyuers partes of the hoste of the Ro-
maynes, whiche should in the Consulles
behalfe declare , that the Romayne cam-
pes were taken and spoyled. Wherefore
he wylled every man to saue hym selfe by
fleyng to the next mountaynes , sence by
lenger tariyng, the greater shuld be theyz
losse.

The warres betwene the
Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 1465
Romaynes. This craftie deceite made many of
them amased: but at the last it was espied
to the greate slaughter of their enemys.
After this battaile the Romaines kepte
them in their campes, and so strayghtlye
besiegged the citee, that Anniball seynge
he coulde no more drawe them forthe to
bataile, nother through the campes of the
Romaines haue anye waye to enter into
Capua, fearing lest his vitalles shulde be
cut from him and his hoste: he determined
to depart from thens. And than he Ima-
gined, that he wolde go towarde Rome,
not doubtyng, but whan the Romayne
capitaines dyd perceyue Rome their head
citee to be in anye daunger, that eyther
one or both wolde leaue capua, and come
to the defencce thereof. And than their po-
wers beyng diuided, bothe partes shoulde
be the weaker: and he trusted, that either
he or the campanes shoulde haue a sayre
daye of some of them. One thinge trou-
bled hym soye, leste the campanes seing
hys departinge from them, wolde incon-
tyent yelde the citee to the Romaynes.
Wherfore by faire words and great gif-
fes, he had gotten one of Numidia to goe
with his letters throughe the campes of

the Romaines, as one that was runne a-
way from the carthaginēses army & whā
he shold come to the further parte of the
hoste towardē the citee, than secretlyc to
enter into capua, and deliuer hys letters,
which were ful of comfort, declaring hys
departing to be for theyz profite, to thin-
tent only to withdrawe theyz enemys
from capua, to defende their owne citee,
bidding them not to dispayre, but to take
pacience for a season, trusyng shortlye to
lose them of the daunger they were in.
Soone after he departed with hys hoste, &
passed the ryuer of Mulfurinus, takynge
the waye toward Rome. His commynge
caused greate heuynes in the citee. The
senatours consulted, what was besse for
to be done in this daungerous case. At
length it was agreed, that. M. Fulvius
shuld come fro capua, with a certayne le-
gions with him, leauing his felowz at the
siege with a nūber sufficient for that pur-
pose. M. Fulvius, hauing this comaunder-
ment, toke with him. xv. h. fotemen and
one thousande horsemen, and followed
Anibal as spedely as he could. Now was
Annibal come within. iii. miles of Rome
where he pytched hys tentes, and made
hys

The warres betwene the
his campe on a ryuer side: And soone af-
ter came Quintus Fulvius Flaccus in-
to ROME with his armys, and consulted
with the senatorz of þ affaires that were
to be done touchinge their enemys.
Than toke Anniball. ii. M. horsmen
wyth hym, and came to the walles and
gates of ROME, rydyng from the gate
called Porta Collida, to the Temple of
Hercules, biewynge the situacion of the
cittie, and the strengthe of the walles.
This holde and highe mynde of Annibal
in so doyng, Fulvius Flaccus coulde not
suffer: but incontinent sent forth a great
noumber of horsmen, who wyth force
droue their ennemis to theyz campe.
The nerte daye Anniball came into the
fielde with his host in good araye, redy to
gene battayle. And Flaccus hauynge
wyth hym the two newe consuls, that of
late were chosen, wyth their powers,
made hym redye also to battaille. Thus
whan bothe partes were redye to goe to-
gether, abidynge the chaunce of fortune,
whether of them shold be maister of the
noble cittie of ROME: there came sodainly
on them so vehemente a storme of rayne
and halle together, that bothe the partes
were

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 147
were sayne to withdrawe theym to theyz
camps. The next day they were likewise
readye to ioyne battayle, whan a lyke
storme also departed them agayne. And
after theyz departure incontinente the
weather wared very bryghte and faire,
and all the wyndes ceassed, whyche euell
chaunces toke away the heartes and cou-
rage from Anniball and his compayne,
soz euer to encyde the cite of ROME.
Wherfore having no further hope ther
of, he returned back in halle to the Wu-
rms: And the consul Quintus Fulvius
retourned to Capua to his felowe.

The oration of Tiberius Virius, concerninge
the yeldynge of Capua, the Romaynes re-
ceyue the towne, sica the s: natours, and
conuerte the groundes thereof to
the profyte of theyz cittie.

Cap.xi.

He Campanes perceiving the
retourne of Quintus Fulvius
and not of Annibal, judged the
selues then to be utterlye forsak-
en of him. Wherfore weeping & mour-
ning, the noble men kepte them in theyz
Q.i. houses

The warres betwene the
hou ses lokyn g dayly for theyr owne dea-
thes, and destruction of the citee. The
hole charge of the keping thereof was in
Bostar and Hanno, captaynes of the ga-
rison of the Carthaginenses. They sea-
ring their owne estate, sent privilye let-
ters to Annibal somwhat sharpely wry-
ten, wherin they blamed him not onelye
for leauing the citee of Capua, to the han-
des of the Romaynes: but also that he
committynge his capitaines & his sure frē-
des & souldioures of his retinue, into the
bandes of his enemys, to suffer tormentis
intollerable, was hym selfe gone to the
Brucians, because he would not see be-
fore him the takyng of Capua. Where-
fore they sayde, in case he would come a-
gayne to them, and retourne his hole po-
wer thither, they with the hole power of
Capua, would be readye to breaue forthe
on theyr enemies, trus singe to wyne
thereby muche honour. They sayde also,
that his comming ouer the mountaynes
was not to warre wyth the Reginnes,
or wyth the Tarentines, but with þ Ro-
maines, and where the Romayne legiōs
were, there shoulde the armye of the Ca-
thaginenses also be. And so doing, he had

so

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 148
for the most parte euer goed spedde, as at
Cannas, at Trasimenus, & divers other
places, by geuing the battaile valiantly.
These letters were sent by one of þ Numi-
dia, an espy, that counterfayted hym selfe
to be run from the Carthaginenses ar-
my, for the hunger that dayly oppressed
the citee. Other letters also of the same
effect were sent by divers other þ Numidi-
ans, but it chaunced, that a woman whō
one of the messangers had kepte as hys
harlot, feeling great hunger in the citee,
ranne out of the tolone into the tentes of
þs Romain consull Flaccus, and decla-
red unto him of such an espye, that was
in his campe, whyche had letters to con-
veye to Anniball. This man was found
out. And when he came before her, he de-
nyed anye parte of her accusation to be
true, he denied also, that he knewe the
woman. But when he salwe tormentes
prepared soz him, he confessed the whole
truthe, and also he confessed, that manye
other of his facion were amoung the Ro-
maines, who wayted; but theyr tyme,
when they might escape frō the Romain
host, wyth like letters to Anniball. Ther-
upon serche was made, and abous. lxx. of

v. li.

them

The warres betwene the
them taken: who were beaten fyft wyt
roddes, and then had theyz handes stry-
ken of, and were sent agayne into the ci-
tee, to theyz captaynes.

Whan the capitayns sawe that extreme
punyshemente shewed to theyz messan-
gers, theyz heartes began to fayle theym
Wherupon Lelius that yeare rular of
the citye, called a generall counsayle. In
the whyche many of the senatoures mo-
ued, that ambassadours shold be sent to
the Romayne consuls: but Tiberius Viri-
us, who was the chiefe causer of the yel-
dyng of Capua to Anniball, beyng de-
maunded of his opinion therein, aunswre-
red, that all they that spake of peace ta-
kyng, or of the yelding of Capua oughte
to rememb're, bothe what they woulde
haue done, if they had the Romaynes in
their power, in lyke case as they had the,
and also what the Campanes were lyke
to suffer, when they wers submitted
wholy to theyz pleasure.

Let vs (sayde he) remember, howe lea-
uynge theyz frendshyp, we submitted vs
to, & not contented therewith, we slewe
all the Romaynes leste here in garrison
wyth vs. And to haue the certayne know-

ledge

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 149
ledge of theyz heartes and enuy towards
vs, let vs call before vs theyz actes done
of late agaynst vs, and thereby ye shall
perceyue, what kyndenes we are lyke to
haue at theyz handes. Anniball a straun-
ger, and theyz bitter enemye being in Ita-
lye, and the countrey on all partes fulfyl-
led with warre: yet they leauinge Anniball
and all other their busines, sent both
the Consulles wyth theyz whole armyes
to besiege Capua, where soe by long con-
tinuall kepinge of the same syege, are al-
most famyshed wyth hunger, but soe fur-
ther pwoze of theyz malice towarde vs, let
vs consider, that although Annibal com-
ming to our succours, had almost wonne
theyz campes, slaine many of theyz men,
and put them in great jeopardy of losing
all that they had: yet all that leopardous
peryll of losse never could moue theim to
remoue theyz syege. Afterward when he
had passed the riuier of Vulturnus, boun-
ning the fieldes of Calemus theyz sayth-
full frendes: yet coulde not the hurtes of
theym call the captaynes from our mise-
rable syege. Nea, then he caused his ba-
niers to be displayde before the walles of
the citie of Rome: saying that onles they
III. would

The warres betwene the
would leaue Capua, he would take these
hygh citee of Rome from thē. yet would
they not leaue the siege of Capua, beares
wulnes, and all wilds beastes, be they in
neuer so great a rage and farye, if a man
goe to theyz caues, where theyz younge
Whelpes lye: anone they wil leaue al that
they are about, and renne greyght to the
defence of theyz younge: but the furious
Romaynes, when Rome was compas-
sed absoute with theyz ennemis, neyther
for their wifes and their chldren (whose
lamentable wepynges myghte be hearde
almooste bithir) neyther for theyz houses,
the temples of their goddes, nor for feare
of violatyng the sepultures of theyz aui-
retours, coulde be withdrawen from the
siege of Capua, so desirous they be to ex-
ecute on vs gretious punyshemente: And
so sore they do thirste to drinke of oure
bloud. And but reason: for happelye we
shoulde haue done likewise to them, ys
fortune had serued vs. Therfore sens it
is the pleasure of the goddes, that nedes
I mast dye: yet wyll I chuse me a deathe
both honeste and gentle: whereby I wyll
escape the tormentes and dispentes that
myne enemies trust to put me vnto.

When

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 150
When Fulcrus and Claudio shall so-
lemnly with triumph enter into Rome
I will not bounden drawen before them
as a spectacle or wondring stocke, and af-
ter put in prison, or beynge tyed to a poste
suffer my body to be scourged, and at last
haue my head syrkē from my body with
the arc of Rome, neyther wyll I lyue to
se my country destroyed & bourned, or to
se the noble matrones & maidens of Ca-
pua rauished and desypled. In the begyn-
nings of the flourishyng, of the citee of
Rome, the Romaines destroyed the citee of
Alba, & threwe it downe to the ground
yet had they theyz originall frō the same
citee, what troune ye than they will do to
Capua, which they hate more than they
do Cartage? Therefore friendes so ma-
ny of you, as be desyrous to dye, before ye
see these so manye, and so spytefull myn-
ties, come this daye to dinner with me,
your meat is already dressed, & when we
be well filled wyth wyne and good mea-
tes, a cuppe of drynke, that I will syrst e-
very one of you & that drinke shal deliuer
the bodye frome tormentes, the myndes

from

The warres betwene the
from rebukes, the eyes and the eares his-
the syght and hearyng of all cruel despri-
tes that be prepared for people that are
overcome. After wher we shall be deade
our seruautes shall be readye to thowbe
oure bodies into great fyres made for the
purpose, there to be bourned, and so shall
we never come into the handes of our
nemyes. This is the onely honest and
free waye to dye, whereby our ennemys
shall maruayle and wonder at our noble
courage. And Anniball shall therby well
perceyue, that he hathe forsaken and be-
fayed his haliant and faythful felowes.
This oration of Vibius was hearde and
well allowed of many mo than had har-
tes to folowe it, or put it in execution, for
the more part of the senatours sayd, that
they had ofte times in warres had expe-
ryence of the pytye and gentlenesse of
the Romaines shewed to their ennemis
in such extremitee, not mistrustinge, but
they shold finde them merciful nowe to
them, vpon humble request to the made:
and therupon determined to send legates
to the consull, to yelde them vp capua.
Vibius Virins went home to his house
to dyner, whō eyght & twenty senatours
folowed

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 151
folowed, where they dined, & drunke plen-
tie of wine, to the intent they might have
the leste feeling of the last dredeful drinke
whan it came. At the lasse they all recey-
ued the poyson, and went from the table,
takeinge eyther other by the handes, and
louinglye embrasyng one another lamen-
ted theyr owne deathes, with the distruc-
tion of the countrey. Some remayned
there, and dyed, and were bourned in the
fyres made for that intente: some wente
home to theyr houses, and there made
their ende: so that before the towne was
deliuered to the Romaines, none of them
were lefte on live.

The nexte day the gates were opened,
and the Romaines suffred to enter. Then
were al the gates kept by the Romaines,
that no man shuld go forth, and firste all
the armoure and wepons were broughte
to the Romaine capitaine: than were the
Carthagynenses of the garrisson taken
and put in prisyon. The Senatours were
commaunded to goe to the consuls, than
beinge in their tentes, from whens suche
as were moste consentinge to the recey-
vinge of Anniball, were sente to sundrye
prisons. xv. to Cales, & xviii. to Thea-
nus,

The warres betwene the
Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 152
Romaynes, vntill it was agreed, what punysh-
ment they shuld haue. Their gold & syluer
was brought in, and delivred to the offi-
cers, called Questores. Claudius the con-
soll was mucche inclined to take the sena-
tors to mercy: Fulvius on the other syde
wolde haue theim suffer, in example of o-
ther rebelles and traitours. Wherfore
Claudius remitted al thing to the judge-
met of the senate of Rome, & sent thither
to know their pleasure therin. Wherby
Fulvius, fearing lest he shuld be staid of
his purpose, commaunded the tribunes,
with ii. M. horsemen, to be redge to ryde
with him at the third blast of y trumpet.
With this company of horsemen in the night
he departed from the army, and by that it
was day light, camis to Theanus, where
causyng the senatours of Capua there
being prisoners, to be brought before him
incontinent he caused them to be violent-
lye scourged wyth roddes, and after to
haue theyr heades striken of. Fro thens,
as fast as he might he bled to Cales, and
there likewise sat vpon the iudgement of
the other senatours of Capua. But why-
les they were going to execuciō one came
from the senate of Rome, riding in great
hast,

hast, with letters, willing hym to stay the
iudgemente and execucion of the punish-
ment of the Campane senators. Thā ful-
vius iudging the letters to be written for
that intent, never disclosed them, but put
them in his bosom, saying to the officers
that they shuld procede quickly to the ex-
ecucion accordyng to the lawe: So were
they also whyppe, and after had theyr
heades striken of. Whan the consul dre-
wyth his letters, and reddē them, sayinge
they came verye late, to let the thyng
that was alredye done. From Cales he
returned to Capua, and there put divers
other in pryon, beside many of the citee y
were sold. Thā was there greate debate
in the scnate at Rome whether the citee
of Capua shuld be burned and utterly di-
stroyed, in example of other rebelles or
not. Muche it moued them so to dooe,
so that it was a greate and a strong
citee, & a very nere neighbour vnto them
which if it shuld be an enniemy againe to
Rome, as it late was, shoulde greatlye
dysquyete the Romaynes. Neuer besesse
in conclusyon, consideryng the fertylitee
of the grounde, whyche was the besse
of all Italye, they agreed to vse it to their
profite,

The warres betwene the
profite, hausing plowmen laboers and
ther to manure and til the groundes, and
the houses to be inhabited with rude peo-
ple, and men of handye craftes: so that it
shuld be a citee of no bodye poltyke, nor
haue senatours, or other commune coun-
sell or rulars, but onely a iudge verely to
be sente from ROME, to minister iustycie
amonge them. By this meane was the
citee preserued from bitter dystruction,
and the profite thereof, with the syeldes
adjoining, employed to the common p^w
site of the Romaines.

Marcellas wynneth the citee of Syracusa
in Sicilia. P. Scipio, and Cneius Scipio
are all slayne in Spayne, with a greate
number of Romaines. Cap. xl.

During the busines of Capua,
and the warres about the same
fortune also fauoured the Ro-
maines touching their affaires
in Sicilia. For Marcellus, capytayne of
the Romaines army there, so wisely and
circumspectly gouerned him selfe and his
people, that he wan the noble citee of Si-
racusa. In whiche he had aboundance of
riches

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ryches, as greate as yf he had taken the
greate citee of Carthago, wyth whiche
(it was thought) in all thinges it myghte
wel as than haue bene compared. In the
end of the yere, whan the tyme of chosing
of newe consuls was come. Marcus Mar-
cellus, for hys well proued experiance,
was chosen consul, & appoynted to match
Annibal concerning the warres of Italy.
And Marcus Valerius Leuinus was e-
lecte the other consull: to whome thende
of the warres of Sicilia were wholy com-
mitted: who by hie industrie, and by the
treason of certaine Numidians, wan the
towne of Agrigentum, whereby he droue
Hanno, Epicides, and all the armye of
Carthage out of Sicilia: and soone after
brought the hole cuntrey into the subiec-
tion of the Romaynes.

While the warres of Sicilia and aboute
Capua were brought to this good passe,
Cn. Scipio & Publius hys brother, wers
as busy in Spaine, but not with like suc-
cess. They had counsaile togynher, the
sommer folowing, so to folow y^e warres,
that the carthaginenses shoulde be cleane
driven out of Spaine. And to be strong e-
nough therfore, they hysyd. xxx. thousand
men

The warres betwene the
men of warre of Celtiberia. The power
of Carthage was diuided in. iii. armes,
gouerned by thre capitaines, Asdruball,
the sonne of Gysgon, & Mago, these two
capitaines laye v. daies iourney from the
Romayne leggions: the thyrd, whiche
was Asdrubal, the sonne of Anniball, the
auncient capitayne of the Carthagynen-
ses in that countrey, laye at Aniturgi-
um, more nere unto the Romaynes: and
hadde in pourpose the summer folowing
to passe the mountaynes, to conuey
his armie to Annibal. This his pourpose
to lette, the two Scipios thoughte sylye
to assayle hym alone from hys company,
not doubtynge, but they were stonge
thoughe so to doo. Theyr greatest feare
was, lest whan they had ouercome hym,
That the other Hasdruball & Mago, bear-
ing therlos, wolde flee into the mountai-
nes and straytes with their power, and
so prolong the warres in Spaine. Wher-
fore to make an ende of all theyr trouble
at ones, they concluded to parte theyr ar-
mies in twayne, P. Cornelius with two
partes shoulde goe against the two cap-
taines that lay together. And Cn. Scipio
with the thyrd parte of theyr olde armes

and

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 154
and with the Celtiberians should assayle
the other Asdruball, the sonne of Amyl-
car. With these mindes they set forth to-
gether toward theyr ennemis. Cn. Scipi-
o whan he came to Aniturgium, rested
with his company in the sight of his ene-
mies, hausinge a ryuer betwene hym and
them, his brother wetc forth, as it was a-
greed betwene them. Asdruball percei-
uing the nuber of the Romans to be but
small: and that all theyr strength was in
strangers late hyred, knowing the facion
of the people, holwe vntrue and vnstable
they were: by the meane of Spaniardes,
that could speake the language, for great
summes of money he corrupted the prin-
cipes and rulars of them: so that they were
agreed to departe home wþt theyr holo
power. They were not desyred or hyred
to undertake the warres with Asdruball
against the Romans, but only to depart
without fighing. Therbynto they were
sone intreated, partly for that they hadde
as large wages as thonghe they shoulde
haue foughten. And againe for that they
were gladde to retourne home to theyr
countreis and frendes, avyding the daun-
ger of warre. Therefore sodeinlye they
with

The warres betwene the
With theyr baners and cartage departed,
The Romaines meruailynge what thys
Sodaine chaunge ment, enquired of them
the cause of their departure. They answe-
red, they were sente for home to defende
theyr owne countrey which was oppres-
sed also wyth warre. Other aunswere
coulde they none gette: nother were the
Romaynes able to kepe them with force.
Scipio knowynge, that without them he
was nothinge able to encounter Asdruball,
and also seynge no waye holwe he
myghte recover the compayne of his bro-
ther: his ennemyes beyng so nere, and
comminge on hym, was meruaylouslye
astonied: yet he thought beste, in no wyse
to meete with hym on euern grounde, he
was so farre ouermatched.

Wherfore a lyttel and a littel he wyth-
drewe him backe, sekynge some place of
strength, where he myghte succoure hym
selfe and his small compayne. That per-
ceyning Hasdrubal passed the ryuer wyth
his host, and folowed after, with as much
spede as he coulde.

Nolwe was. P. Scipio hys brother as
muche troubled on his part, by reason of
Massanissa, a yonge lustye prynce of Mu-
midia,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 195
midia, who betinge than a fronde to the
Carthaginenses, was come with a good
power of Numidians to the succoure of
Mago and Hasdruball the sonne of Gys-
gon, he was fierce and of a great courage
the Romaynes could neyther go abrode,
for vitayles wood, or suche necessaryes,
but he wyth his Numidians was euer
ready to oppresse them: and divers times
in the nyghte he woulde assayle them in
theyr campe, as people that were besye-
ged. There was also tidinges broughte
to Scipio, that one Indibilis, with seuen
thousande and ffe hundred Guessanes,
was at hande, commynge to the helpe of
the Carthaginenses: whose army beyng
soyned to the other, he knewe he shoulde
be more straightly enclosed. Wherfore
compelled by necessarie to searche the com-
passee of his witte, he determined secre-
tlye to take the greater parte of his ar-
mye to meete with this Indibilis in the
nyghte, intendynge, where so euer he
mette wyth him, to giue hym battaile,
he leste Titus Fonteius, wyth a cer-
taine wyth him, to kepe the campe. And
going on his waye about midnyghte, he
mette wyth Indibilis, and sodaynely as-

The warres betwene the
sayled him. There was a fierce conflyct
for a season: And by the sodayne settyng
on them, the Romaynes had put them to
flyght wyth great slaughter, had not the
Numidian horsemen (who alwayes a-
wayted on the Romaynes wheresoever
they went) on both partes sodaynelye ab-
sayled them: Yet Scipio so prysilye was
in the night departed, y he had thoughte
thereby to haue begyled the Numidians
watchemen. Then the battayle beyng
renued againe, Mago and Asdrubal with
theyr hostes folowyng after, were at
theyr backes: so that the Romaynes
knewe not to whiche were best to tourne
them. Scipio still comforted and exhort-
ed his men, and euer where the battaile
was most stonge, thyther wente he lyke
a noble and valyaunte gouernour, tyll at
the lasse him selfe was thrusse into the
ryght syde wyth a speare, so that he fell
dead from his horse, When the Cartha-
ginenses sawe the Romayne captyayne
fall, incontinent they ranne in al the par-
tes of the fylde ioyfullye cryeng, Scipio
the captyayne of the Romaynes is slayne.
The same whereof gaue hearte to the
Carthaginenses, and caused the Romai-
nes

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 156
nes to fly, but in the flyghte there were
more slayne than in the battayle. The Nu-
midian horsemen were so fyerce in the
chase, and the footemen hauinge lyghte
harneys, were almoste as swyfte as the
horses. So that if the nyghte hadde not
come on them, fewe or none had escaped.
The Carthaginenses after this victorye
slepte not nor stayde, but to folowe theyr
good occasion offred, incontinent tooke
theyr horses, and went to the other Has-
druball, the sonne of Amilcar, not doub-
tinge of good speede there also. After that
both theyr powers were incyte togither,
there was great ioye made betwene the
Capptaynes, bothe for theyr meetynge
and also for the newes of theyr late vic-
torye.

On the other side the Romans were stri-
ken wyth fearefull pensifenes, not so; a-
ny knowledge that they had of the losse
of theyr company, for there was such spedē
made by their enemies that wrode there-
of coulde not so soone be brought them,
but theyr feare was as it were throughe
an inwarde and secrete iudgemente in
theyr heartes, of some euell chauice that
was happened vnto them. Agayne Cu-

X. II. Scipio

The warres betwene the
Scipio, seinge the hoste of his ennemys
encreased, by the comming of Mago and
Asdruball, maruayled howe they shoulde
conuay their army thither so soone wyth-
out battayle, onelesse his brother were
slayne. He maruayled also, that his bro-
ther, neyther did let theyz coming thither
neyther yet did appere folowing them.
For he knewe if he were on liue, he wold
make haste to come and ioyne his armie
vnto his. In this great trouble of minde
he thought to wythdrawe him as muche
as he myght. Wherefore in the nyghte he
was gone a good space of ground, but in
the dawning of the daie, the Numidians
were ware of theyz departinge, and fol-
wed wyth theyz horses, so that longe be-
fore nyght they ouertoke them, assayling
them nowe on the one side, nowe on the
other, and sometime behinde theym: but
ever Scipio caused them to kepe good
raye, and to go ever forwarde in theyz
fynghting, to be out of the daunger of the
footemen of theyz ennemys that fol-
wed theym: but the horsemen so hered
theym on all partes, that they could not
go farre. Wherefore Scipio gathered his
small company vp to a litell hill, the bess
that

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that he could there espye for his aduaunc-
tage. Ther he tooke this order, their stiffe
any cariage was broughte into the myd-
del of the hoste, and the horsemen sette a-
bout the same: wythout theym were the
footemen, who sauad the other from the
inuasion of the Numidian horsemen, till
the reste of the Carthaginenses were
come. But than Scipio seinge him selfe
so vnable to resist. iii. capitaynes & theyz
great hostes, beganne to devise, howe he
myght by any meanes caste a trenche a-
boute his campe, or make some hedge to
defend them from the invasions of theyz
ennemys: but then was the hyl so bare,
and the ground so stonye, that no bushes
or thornes coulde there be gathered, nor
turues digged, or any trenche made, and
the hyl it selfe was so flatte, that they
could by no maner of way lette the com-
minge vp of theyz ennemys. Than Sci-
pio to make some shewe of a defence a-
bout the campe, devised to lay his packes
and grosse cariage in compasse of the
campe one vpon an other, and thereupon
he caused the pack saddels and other far-
rels to be tied: whereby he raised the wal-
les of his campe of a good heyght.

X. iii.

Wher-

When the hostes of the Carthaginenses were come, they ascended that small hill wþt litell payne, but then seyng that straunge kunde of fortifynge the campe, whiche they had never before seene, they were amased, and stayde for a season. The capitaines perceiving theyr sodaine stoppe and wondring, cried on all partes to them, sayeng, that it was great shame for them to be so long or they could pluck downe and deface such a sond devise and mockerye, wherewith children and wo- men wold not so long haue bene stayed. Go to it therfore with courage (said they) for your ennemis lyz lurkinge behynde those packes. Wþt these rebukes of the capitaines, they assayed to enter on all partes. And though a great whyle they were let and trombled thereaboute; at the last in diuers partes they entred; so fewe in number could no lōger endure against so manye. The campe was wonne, and many were slaine, wherof Cn. Scipio the noble captaine was one, a good number fled into the wooddes, that were next unto them, and so escaped, and came into the tentes of Publius Scipio, whiche then were kepte by T. Fonteius. Thus

were bothe the brethren and capitaines of the Romaynes in Spaine, slaine with in the space of. rrx. dayes: whose deathe was greatly lamented both at Rome, and also in Spaine: And it was thoughte at theyr deathe, that the hole armie of the Romaynes in Spayne, was utterly brought to confusyon, and that countrey thereby broughte oute of the Romayne handes.

L. Martius is chosen capitaine of the Roman army, he maketh an exation to his soldiours, and in one nyght and a daye vanquisheth the hostes of the Carthaginenses, winneth theyr campes, and a great praye. Cap. xlit.



In all this peril and scoperous estate, one man was foud in the army, by whose wit, courage, and fortune, the honoure and wealth of the Romaines was sauied and restored. And that was Lucius Martius, y sonne of Septinius, a freshe yong man & an active. This Martius had long bene in the warres vnder C. Scipio, and of him had learned

The warres betwene the
learned muche experiance and pollicye in
the gouernaunce of an armie. And nowe
scing al thinges almost desperate, he ga-
thered together suche souldiours as by
fleing were escaped from the last battaile
and also assembled a good numbre of me-
of warre oute of diuers townes and for-
tresses, whych were vnder the obedience
of Rome. With all these he came to the
tentes of L. Fonteius, ioyninge all the
Romaynes power together, and in shor-
space his name and honour was so erah-
ted, that by the hole consent of the souldi-
oures of the armie, he was chosen to be
their capitaine & guide. Wherupon he
incontinent applied hym selfe buslyng to
make sure theyz campe, and also to make
good prouision for vitayles on all sortes.
To whose pleasure and commaundement
all the men of the host gladly obeyed: pe-
uerthelesse, when they hearde, that Has-
drubal the sonne of Gisgon, was at hand
wyth his armie minding to destroye vi-
terlye all the Romaynes that were left:
and also, when they sawe their newe ca-
pitaine makynge ready his people, and a-
uauncing his standers: they then remem-
byng thei olde noble Capytaynes,

and

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 159
and y great power, wherwith they were
wont to go to all battailes, could not for-
beare to wepe and lament theyz mishap,
in such wise, that nother theyz petie capi-
taines, not yet Martius him selfe, might
appease them, yet did they sometyme re-
buke theyz semynyne and vnyprofytale
weepinges, sometyme styrre them to de-
fend them selues and their countrey, and
also to reuenge the death of theyz old no-
ble capitaynes of late slayne. While they
thus were spendinge the time vnyprofita-
bly, theyz ennemyes were at hande, and
redy to assaile them, & to enter into theyz
campes, but than the Romaynes, tour-
ninge theyz teares to a furions rage, in
in haste toke their armure and weapons,
and not only defended the entries of their
campe, but also issued oute fierselye, and
ranne on theyz ennemies, whiche kepte
no verye good aray, so littell they misru-
ned anye suche resystence. This sodaine
issuunge oute of them caused the Cartha-
ginenses to be striken with a feare, and
also to meruaile, how the Romaine hoste
was so shorlye increased, whiche so late
was almoste wholly slaine and put to vt-
terance. They misused also of their sodaine
courage

The warres betwene the
courage and hardynesse, and what newe
capitayne they myghte haue to truste on,
the two Scipios benye slayne.
In that feare and doubt they began some
what to geue backe, and thā the Romai-
nes folowed vpon theym, so that they
were constrainyd to flee, & in that flighte
manye of them hadde bene slaine or
elles the folowers hadde bene putte
to greatte hurte and dyspleasure, by
theyr faste pursuyte, hadde not Martius
hyin selfe sounded the retreat, and halle
agaynst theyr wylles stayed them from
the chace, and broughte them backe to
theyr tentes, beyng sylle hot, fyre,
and desyrous, by slaughter to reuenge
them on their ennemys.
The Carthaginenses fled faste for a sea-
son: but at the lasse, seinge no man to fo-
lowe them, thoughte that they for feare
durst no longer pursue them. Wher-
fore they made no more suche haste, but
wente softlye to their campe: and whan
they were come thither, they also regar-
ded not greatlye the good watche and ke-
pinge thereof, but lefte all thinges neglig-
ently and unsorely nothing mistrusting
their enemies that were at hand, for that

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 160
they denied them to be but the remenant
and leauings of two hostes lately beaten
now beyng gathered together againe.
This negligence of the Carthaginenses
was knowen to Martius by espies.
Wherfore he (at the syste apparaunce) se-
med rather rashlye than boldlye to enter-
prise the night folowing to innade them
in theyr tentes and syde, thinkyng it
more easie for him to winne the campe of
Hadruball alone, beyng sodeinely taken
and unprovided, than he shulde be able to
defend his owne campe and syld, if he ta-
ried till the thre cappytaines of the Car-
thaginenses, and theyr armes, were ioy-
ned together agayne. Neuerthelesse be-
fore he wolde sodainelye and in the night
time enterprise so high a feate he thought
first to make his company priuy therof,
and also make vnto them an ojacyon,
whiche he began in this wise.

The great loue that I haue euer borne
vnto oure good capitaines (louyng soul-
dyours) as welle whanne they were
on lyue, as also now they are deade, and
oure presente sortune at this tyme is suf-
fyciente to perswade any man, that this
greate auctoritee and rule, whiche of your
goodnes,

The warres betwene the
goodnes, ye haue geuen me, is both
weightye and full of care and troubles.
For although my minde be sore troubled
and disquieted, that it can almooste at no
time finde anye comforthe or consolacion,
but onely whan feare dryueth awaie the
sorowes thereof: yet in oure doloure, I
onely am constrainyd to comforthe and re-
leue you all of youre sorowes. Neþher
whan I am deuising, by what meanes I
maye saue and preserue the leauynges of
the two Romaines hostes, for the wealth
of the countrey, can I at any time be quit
and ridde of my sorowes. For euen that
the two Scipios both by day & by nighte,
doe bere and trouble mee: sometyme in
dreames they appeare vnto me, and ma-
nye times they awake me out of my slee-
pes, commaunding me not to leaue them
nor yet theyr noble souldours your com-
panions, nor the common welthe vne-
uenged. And for that intent, they wil me
to folowe the rules and disciplyne, that
they haue taughte me: And as (whyles
they were liuing) therewas no man more
obediente to their commaundmente than
I was: so likewise, nowe they are depar-
ted, I shall alwaies be as glad to doe that
thing,

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thing which I do suppose they wold haue
done, if they were here with vs lyuinge.
And I wolde ye shold not thinke it besse
(worþy warriours) to mourne and wepe
for them, as though they were cleane
deade sence they liue perpetually through
the noble fame of their honorable actes:
but whansoeuer ye shal, going to battaille
remember any of them, I wold haue you
so valiantlye fighte, as though he sawe
them settinge fyr the before you with ba-
nners displaied, and exhorting you to wyn
honoure. Suche an imagination caused
you yesterday so manfully to vanquylshe
and put to flight your enemies. Where-
fore I am muche desyrous to proue, whe-
ther you, that were so hardye for youre
owne pleasure, dare nowe vndertake as
much at the desyre and exhortacion of me
your capitayne. For yesterdaye, whan I
called you backe from the chasse of youre
ennemys, I dyd it not to plucke downe
your stomakes, or to quenche youre noble
courage, but onely to deserre the same to
your more and greater honoure, and also
better oportunitie: to the intent that you
being prepared therfore may assaile them
vnpurueide for the same, that you armed
mays

The warres betwene the
may take them vnarmed & a slepe. Our
enemies thinke nothing lesse, than to be
suaded of vs in theyz campe , whome
they accompte as people besieg'd wythin
our owne campe , let vs nowe therefore
enterprize that, which no man wil thinke
that we dare enterpryse. And that shalbe
found most easyc, that seemed mosse harde
to bee compaynted : I my selfe wyll bee
your guide in the dead of the nyghte, and
leade you so secrecelye, and with suche sy-
lence, that we wil be within their campe,
er they shalbe ware of oure comminge. I
am ascertained, that they kepe no watche
nor order . Theyz campe shal we lynn at
the firsste brunte. And than let me see you
make the slaughter amonge them, that
you intended yesterdye to have made,
whan againste youre willes I called you
backe from the pursuite of them , where-
with ye were than very angry. This em-
terprise I knowe to be verye greate and
hardye:but in suche necessitee such coun-
sels are best. For whan occasion is offred
opportunitee serueth, it muste be taken, o-
els it wyll flee awaie without recovery.
One of theyz armes is here at hande,
and two other are not to be farre hense.

Now

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 162
Now if we assaile this one hoste , there
may we find oportunytee and haue some
equal matche. We haue alredy yesterdye
assayed bothe youre owne strengthe and
theyrs:but in case we delay it, being con-
tentid with yesterdaies honour, it is seq-
pardy , lest all the capitaynes, with their
powers come together : and than howe
shall we be able to suffeyne the power of
the armes with their governors whcm
Cn. Scipio, with his army was not able
to withstand . As by diuiding their hostes
our two noble cappitaines were slayne:
lykewise our enemies being diuided and
seuered, maye by vs be oppressed . Other
waye is there none for vs to take nowe,
but only to loke for y oportunytee of this
next night. Therfore in the name of the
goddes go ye now to your restes and che-
rishe your bodies, that whan I cal on you
you beyngc fronge and lusty, maye enter
into the campe of your enemys , wyth
the same hertes and courage, that of late
ye defensived your owne campe.

This newe counsaile of the newe cap-
taine was well hearde, and so muche the
more ioyfully receiued, by how much the
acte

The warres betwene the
acte seemed to be moze holde and hardye.
Wherfore they prepared all thinges in a
redynnesse for the departure , and rested
them selues the rest of the day and a good
parte of the nighte . Than Martius cau-
sed them to be called vp, and set them se-
cretlye on the waye forward, about the
of the clocke after midnighte. Than was
there an other armie of the Carthagy-
nenses seuen myles beyonde the campe
of Hasdruball, the sonne of Gylgon , and
in the myddes of that waye there was a
hollow valey, and therin a litel wodde.
Into this woodde had Martius sente an
embuschement of Romaine horsemen, to
receiue such as fled from the first campe,
and wolde escape to the other. And whan
he deemed the saide embuschement to be
come thither, he with the rest of his com-
panye, wente to the nerte campe , where
findinge no watche nor resistance , they
entred the tentes as easily as they might
haue done in theyr owne. Than sodainly
they blewe vp theyr trumpettes , & made
great clamour and noise: some slew theyr
ennemis sleping, some set the tentes on
fyre, many kepte the entre or gates of the
campe, that none shoulde issue out. Thus

with

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses 163
wyth sodayne noyse, fyre, and slaughter,
the other were so amased, that they wist
not what to do. They that fledde to the
gates, were there recyued of armed men
and slaine. When they perceiued the ga-
tes so kept, many to save theyr lives leapt
over the ditches or closures of the campe,
thinkyng to flee to the next campe of the
Carthaginenses, and they were also re-
cyued of the Romayne embuschement
and slayne, so that none escaped. And if
anye had escaped, they coulde not haue
brought word of the newes to the other
campe, before the Romaynes cam to them
selues: such spede they made to go to the
second campe, after they had so slain and
opprest them of the fyrist syerde. Thus
in the breake of the day, they came to the
second campe, where they found all thy-
nges moze unready, then in the fyrist, some
were gone forth for wood, some on forra-
ging, some for vitayles , manye walked
vp and downe before the gate of the campe
unarméd , manye were layde downe to
take theyr rest: the Romaynes, being yet
syerce of theyr late victorye, slewe fyriste
suche as made resistance at the entre of
the campe , and after they entred and

p. i.

made

The warres betwene the
made great slaughter. With this greate
nayse, many arose and armed them, and
came to the defence of theyz fydle, and
thereby the battaile for a season was cru-
ell and strong: but as soone as they per-
ceyued the freshe bloud on the Romaines
shieldes, whiche was a signe of the dea-
th of theyz compayne, they were styken
that they fledde as many as myght sun-
dry wayes, so that nyght and mornynge
Martius vanquished .ii. of the hostes of
the Carthaginenses, and slew .xxxviii. m-
men, and one thousande and eyght hun-
dred were taken. He wanne also theyz
tentes, wherein was a riche pray. Amōg
other thinges there he found a helmet of
siluer, wayeng. C. xxxviii. unces, & there-
yon was grauen the ymage of Hasdruball,
the sonne of Amilcar: whych helmet
was sent to the senate of Rome and kept
long after in the Capitole, for an hono-
rable monumente or remembraunce of
the victorye of Martius. And after his
tyme it was called Martius helmet, unto
the tyme of the burning of the capitolye.
After these gret harmes and losses, both
gyuen and taken on both partes, they
ceassed warryng for a while in Spayne,
nether

Komynes and the Carthaginenses. 164
neyther party beinge hastye to put all in
scopardye, till they were sure of moze so-
ours.

Howe Hasdruball being en closed in the streytes,
besyde Mēntissa, escaped the daunger thercof,
by mockyng his ennemys, and of the cho-
singe of yonge P. Cornelius Scipio,
to be capptayne in
Spayne. Ca. xlviij

After the subduinge of Capua,
Appius Claudius Nero, the
Consull, wyth an army of .xi.
thousand footemen, and .xi. C.
horsemen, was sent into Spayne: where
receyuing also the hoste that was before
with Martius and Fonteius, he tooke
the way toward Hasdruball the sonne of
Amilcar, that laye with his armie at a
place called the blacke stonye, betwene the
towne of Illiturgus & Mēntissa, whyche
was a place so enclosed, that there was
no way to issue out, but at certayne strey-
tes, which streytes Claudius Nero at his
fyre comminge, caused to be well and
strongly kepte, that the other shold by
no waye escape, but at his pleasure.

p. ii. Hasdrubal

The warres betwene the
Hasdruball percepuing him selfe to be en-
closed on all partes, fearynge his escape
from thense, sent incontinent an harrold
to the consull, wyth faithfull promyssse,
that in case he would suffre him and his
company to departe oute of that straytes
wythoute further battaille or trouble, he
would be contented forthwyth to depart
out of Spayne, with al the army of Car-
thage, and leauue the countrey wholye to
the Romans. This his large offer Nero
gladly receyued, and the next day folow-
ing was appointed for a communication
to be had betwene them, of the condicions
of deliuering of the castells and foxtresses
whyche they had in possession, and what
day shold be appoynted for the Cartha-
ginenses garrisons to depart wyth their
baggage, without gile or fraude, frō the
sayd castells and townes, and the other to
be receyued in theyz places. When they
were agreed on this communication, all
the same nyght Hasdruball caused many
of his hoste, with all his grosse and hea-
vy cariage, to be sente forth by the sayde
strengthes, beinge then not so straytelye
kepte and watched. Euer foreseing, that
there shoulde not ouer manye departe at
ones

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 165
ones that night, to thentent the smalnes
of the numbre, by makinge small noyse,
myght with theyz silence deceyue his en-
nemis, and also the better to escape the
narrow and vneasy waies of the streight
passages.
The day folowing the consul and he had
longe communication, and booke were
written of thinges of small importaunce
till it drewe toward nighte: and then they
agreed to meeete the next morning, to fy-
nishe their deuises. This night also Has-
druball bestowed, in sending forth many
mo of his hoste, and moze of his cariage
then he did the nyghte before. The nexte
meeting also, was in like maner in vain
the time wasted & spente in deuises of co-
uenantes: and euer in the night he sent
of his footemen & stusse out of daunger.
Thus in reasoning and debating, diuers
dayes were employed, till all his foot-
men and cariage were escaped. And
when a great parte of his hoste was by
this illusion escaped, then began Hasdru-
ball more to stay, & be stiffe in the agree-
yng of couenauntes, in so muche that he
began to distet frō diuers articles, wher-
unto he had before assented. For as hys
feats

The warres betwene the
his feare was lessed, his fayth also decre-
sed. The nexte morninge there appeared
a great and darke miste vpon the ground
as well on the hilles as on the baleyes,
which serued wel Hasdrubal for his pur-
pose. For he, thinkinge then his good
hours to be come, sent to Nero the consul
aduertising him, that the same day was
anduer had bene kept hie, holy, and sa-
cred among the Cartaginenses: so that
to the same it was not lawefull for hym
to trauaile about any busynesse. Where-
fore he desired the communication to be
deferred till the daye folowynge. The
Consull yet thinkinge no fraude or de-
cye to be in the message, agreed thereto.
And then Hasdruball wyth spedde,
issued oute of the straite with the reste of
his host, horsemen & elephantes, with as
smal noise as he could make, & was pas-
sed all daunger, before the daye wared
cleare. But when the son beganne to ap-
peare, then Nero perceiving the campe,
of the Cartaginenses to be boyde, and
knowing manifestly of their departure,
with their untrouth & his mocke & illusion
he made as much spedde as he could to fo-
lowe his enemies, with a fervent desyre

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to syght, if he might ouertake them.
But they were in safegarde, ere he might
attaine vnto them, without any thinge
doing, onelesse it were smial skirmyshes
betwene the tayle of the hoste of the Car-
thaginenses and the lighte foreroders of
the Romayne armie.
The ende of the yere drewe nere, and the
time of chosinge of officers began to ap-
proche, at whiche election Marcus Mar-
cellus, and Marcus Valerius Leuinius,
were chosen consulses. Then the senate
of Rome, with no lesse diligence delibe-
red of the assayres of Spayne, then they
dide of the estate of Italye, for the sau-
garde whereof, they determined to aug-
ment the army, that was there with Pe-
ro the consull, and to sende also wyth the
same a newe capitaine, whom they cal-
led a proconsull. But al they doubt was
whom they shoulde assigne to that office,
to succee in the place of two so noble ca-
pitaines, as were of late there slayne, in
the space of xxx. dayes: The day was ap-
pointed for the commune election of this
capitaine, by voyce of the senatours and
also of the communes. Some looked,
when manye valyaunt men would haue
offered

The warres betwene the
offred them selues thereto for the wealth
of theyr countrey: But none was founde
amonge them, that would enterprise to
take on hande that great and peryllous
charge. The citezens by great assemblies
met at the daye and place appoynted for
the nomination. At whyche daye the no-
ble men loked one vpon an other, as peo-
ple amased and destitute of counsayle in
such perpleritee, lamentinge the sore de-
caye of the state of the citee.

When none could be found amonge the
worthye for that ronne or office, then so-
daynely yonge P. Cornelius Scipio, the
sonne of him that was before slayne in
Spaine, being then but xxxiiii. yeres olde,
stode vp in a highe place, whare all men
micht wel se and beholde him, & desired
that the same office micht be geuen unto
him. When he had declared his minde,
anone the hole multitude of all estates,
gaue to him theyr consentinge, cryenge:
Luckye be his empyre in Spaine.

Soone after this sodayne election a so-
daine silence was among the multitude,
and then all men began secretely wyth
them selues to consider their haste in
their nomination, maruaylyng and also
fore-

for thinking that they had moze fauoured
the person throughe affection , then they
did consyder hys youthe by their reason,
many mislyked the fortune that had hap-
ped to his stocke and famylie in the same
countrey before , and some were sorwe to
send one of the sanie kin and name, to go-
uerne the countrey, whare his father and
uncle were slaine and laye buryed.

When yong Scipio perceiued theyr si-
lence , and repentaunce of theyr hastie e-
lection , he desyred them a littell to geue
him audyence . And there he made them
such an oracion, in the excuse of hys age,
and concerninge the rule and assayres to
him committed, with suche an herte and
courage, that he not onely enflamed their
hertes with more ardent desire and loue
towarde him , but also he fulfilled them
with a certayne hope of prosperous suc-
cesse in his empyre. For the yonge man,
beside many his marueilous vertues and
goed qualities, wherewith he was natu-
rally indewed, he had also from his infan-
cie a wonderfull conninge or gifte in the
noble auaunting and setting forth of the
same . Sometime amonge the commune
people he wold shew certaine dreames or
visions,

The warres betwene the
vissions, that he had in the night: sometime
he woulde declare vnto them thynges
that he was commanded inwardly by the
goddes to execute. These & suche like his
straunge wordes, with the manner and
facion of living after he was fyre put in
auctoritee, shewed suche a magnificence
in him, that the commune people bothe
had an opinyon, and also publyshed the
same, that Scipio was descended of the
flocke or kynred of the gods. Inuentinge
a like fable of his concepcion to be by the
fede of a serpente or snake, as heretofore
hath ben fayned of great Alexander: af-
firminge, that the similitude of the same
hathe bene dines tymes seen in his mo-
thers chamber: but so sone as any man en-
tered hit said chamber, it did sodainly glide
and vanish away. This fained iuencion
of hys concepcion, and the superstitious
myndes of the people towarde hym, he
woulde nother affirme to be true, nother
saye they were false and vntrewe: but
couertlye lefte them to dwel still in theyr
owne opinions: wherby all men had such
an admyracion of hym, that they suf-
fered him to enjoy that greate rounre, that
els was ful vnuete for that his yong age

The

Romaynes and the Carthaginies. 162

The armye, that shoulde be vnder him in
Spayne, was increased. x. thousand fote-
men, and one. M. horsemen: and . M. Ju-
lius Sullanus was appoynted to helpe
him in al his busy assayres of charge.

With this newe armye and a nauye of
thirty shippes, he departed out of Italye,
makinge greate sped, syll he arryued in
Spaine: where he gathered together all
the power that remayned there before,
and so soberly handid him selfe to al me,
that in his wordes they iudged to be both
a royll maestee, and a stedfast faythful-
nes. He prayed muche the scouldours,
whiche he found there, syll for that notwithstanding
their ii. great losses of men
and capitains, yet they kept stil that coun-
try, defendinge manfull y theyr frendes
and many their citiis of the same: and al-
so that they suffred not their ennemis to
enjoy the prosperous fortune, whiche by
the losse of the Romains was ones geue
theym. Theydlye, for that they had dry-
uen theyr enemies to forsake their abode
on this side the water of Iberus. But a-
bove all other, he had Lucius Martius
in great honoz and veneration. And anon
after his comming: he bestowed his men

The warres betwene the
men of warre, to places where they shalld
remaine for the winter seasō, and he hym
selfe, after all thinges were ordynatelye
disposid, went to Tarracon.

The fame of Scipio was no leste among
his ennemys, than it was amonge his
freudes. They also had a certaine feare of
him, conjecturinge, as it were by secrete
divinacion, the likely successe of thynges
that were to ensue. They feared hym be-
fore they had cause, and they feared hym
the more, by how muche the cause or rea-
son of theyz feare was hid & vnkownen.
And in this perplexitee of mind, they de-
parted theyz armes, and went to dyuers
partes for the winter season.

Hasdruball the sonne of Gisgon, went to
the sea, towarde the pillars of Hercules:
Mago kepte the myddell of the countrey,
and Hasdrubal the sonne of Amilcar, lay
nighe the ryuer of Iberus, not farre from
Hagunt.

 The oracion of Scipio to his souldi-
ours in Spayne, after his coming
ther. Cap. 44.

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 169



 In the spryng of the yere 169.
Scipio commaunded al his
shyppes, furnyshed wyth
men vitayles & munimen-
tes of warre, to meete hym
at the mouth of the riuere of
Iberus: where he with the rest of his host
comminge by lande from Tarracon, met
them. And there thinkyng it necessary to
him, to declare his mynde to the old soul-
dyours that were lefte in Spayne, after
the laste greate losse and slaughter of the
Romaynes, he called them together, and
made his oracion as hereafter foloweth.

There was never new capitaine before
me, that had cause to geue thankes unto
his souldyours, before he had tried theyz
hardnes and diligēce in batayle: but for-
tune hathe bounde me unto you (louynge
souldyours) before I knew this countrey,
or saw the place of oure campe. Fyrst for
the loue and obedience that ye haue borne
to my father and mine uncle both quicke
and deade: secundarily for that, whan the
hole countrey was as losse, by reason of
the greate destruction of oure people: yet
you by your noble vertue & mighte, haue
obtained the possesid of the same againe,
both

The warres betwene the
bothe to the Romaynes , and also to me
theyr deputye here , and successoure to
my sayd father and uncle. But now, sens
through the fauoure of the goddes we in-
tende to worke, not that we may dwel in
Spayne stille oure selues , but that the
Carthaginenses shal hane no dwellynges
here: Rather only to restraine them, that
they shall not conte on this side the ban-
kes of the water of Iberus , but that we
intend to passe the same floode with oure
army, to geue them battaille. I feare , less
it halbe thoughte by you , that thys my
counsayle is more hardye (and spoken af-
ter myre age) than wyse, considerynge the
late losse that we haue had here, whereby
the tyme shoulde not serue vs to vnder-
take suche greate enterpryses . There is
no man hathe more cause than I , to re-
member our euyll fortune in battayle in
Spaine , who hathe had bothe my father
& mine uncle slaine here, within the space
of .xx. dayes, as ye wolde saye, to make
here a heape of corps of oure familie one
upon another. Neverthelesse, as the losse
and lacke of frendes is displeasant to the
mynde of men, euen so doth fortune and
noble vertuouse courage forbid a man,in
suche

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses . 170
suche case to dyspayre, specially sens tho-
sough fatall fortune oure chaunce hathe
heretofore bene , that after we haue bene
beaten & susteyned great losses in the be-
gunninge, yet at the laste we haue euer o-
uercome oure ennemis, that before sup-
pressed vs. I wil not reherse the old histo-
ries of oure warres with Poysena, wþth
the Frenchmen, and with the Sammites
I wyll onely remember the warres with
these our ennemys the Carthaginenses
how many nauies of shippes, how many
captaines, and howe many armys losse
we in the fyrste battayles , that we hadde
with them, before the tyme of this Anniball : And now in hys tyme at Cratia, at
Trasimenus, & at Cannas , what other
thinges dyd appere , other than hole ar-
mies with theyr capptaynes & Romayne
Consuls slayne: furthermore, how great
a part of Italy, of Sardinha, and Sicillia
haue forsaken the Romaynes , to folowe
the amitee of Anniball : and howe nigher
the citee of Rome pitched he his campe
ye he hym selfe was sene almosse to ryde
harde to the gates of Rome . In all the
tyme of his great rypne & harde fortune,
the heartes , the vertue and couraige of
the

The warres betwene the
of the Romayns remained still stedfasse,
hole, and vnmoveable, whereby they haue
bene euer susteined and set vp againe.
After the cruel battaille at Cannas, Has-
druball, with a greate army was goynge
ouer the mountaines into Italy, to helpe
his brother Anniball, and to ioyne theyr
powers together: whiche if he had done,
accordyng to his intente, there hadde by
this day bene almost no memory or name
of the Romayns leste. But than ye hardy
souldours, by the gouernaunce of my fa-
ther, withstode theim, and by youre good
fortune so wel sped there, that therby the
euel chaunces, whiche before hapned vs,
were wel releued, and now, throughe the
goodnes of the goddes are daylye more
ioyfull and prosperous. In Sicilia the
greate cities of Syracusa and Agrigen-
tum, be wonne agayne, and the hole Isle
broughte vnto the obedyence of the Ro-
maines, and our enemies clene expulsed.
In Italy Capua is taken, and the Apu-
nes brought againe vnder the subiection
of Rome. And Anniball in greate feare
fleyng from Rome, is nowe dryuen into
an angle of the countrey of the Brutians
Where the daylye prayer that he maketh

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to the goddes aboue al thinges is, that he
may safe and sound escape without daun-
ger out of the countrey of his enemies.
Wherfore frendes, there is nothyng
more vnmete, or more contrary to reason
then that you, who haue in all aduersite
and lowe ebbe, when the goddes were
them selues almost on Annibals partye,
and yet by the guiding of my father and
frendes, haue susseyned and borne by the
estate of the Romaynes: that ye nowe,
when all thinges are merye and prospe-
rous, shold shrinke or suffer your harts
to fayle you. Nowe the immortall goddes
the governours of the Romayne empire
who willed the people of Rome, by one
assent to electe me vnto this great office
and dignitee, the same goddes by sundry
presages, signes & dreames in the nighte
haue shewed me, that all thinges hereaf-
ter shall haue prosperous successe. Yea
and that I moste at this time do regarde
my heart geueth me, that ere it be longe,
all Spayne shall be ours, so that as ma-
ny as beare the name of a Cartaginēse,
shall be gladde for feare to flee hem, both
by land and by sea. And reaso also geueth
that the same whyche in my heart is con-
Z. I. ceyued.

The warres betwene the
cavued must nedes be trewe. For duers
of theyz friendes, whiche haue by them
bene euel entreated, haue of late sent am
bestadours to vs for succours. Agayne,
there be of them thre capitaines, whiche
can not agree among them selues. For
whych cause they haue deuyded theyz ar-
mige in three partes, and are departed
farre a sunder. Wherefore the same for-
tune that scourged and distroyed vs, doth
nowe come on them. For theyz felowes
and fryendes, in whome they truste be-
gone from them, euen as the people cal-
led Celiberti, departed and forsooke you,
when ye had moste nedes of them. They
also haue deuided and seuered theyz ho-
stes, whiche was the cause of the destruc-
tion, bothe of my father and of mine buncle.
This discorde will not suffer them to
joyne together agayne. And be ye sure,
no one army of them by it selfe is able to
wythstante you. Wherefore I most har-
felye pray you good soldiours, loue and
faouour nowe the name of the Scipions,
which am I, the sonne of your olde cap-
taine Scipio, an iunpe growen out (as ye
would saye) of a stocke that is cut downe
by the ground. And ye olde knyghtes so
wooke

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wooke, that ye may bring me a yonge ca-
pitayne, with a newe armye ouer A-be-
rus, into the countrey, whiche ye haue
passed after manye great actes and pro-
wes shewyd: and I doubt not shortlye to
bring to passe, that as ye nowe knowe in
me to be a similitude or resemblaunce of
my father, and buncle, by my face, counte-
naunce, and features of my body, even so
shall ye see in me also an example of their
wit, faith, and vertue : in suche wise that
euerye one of you shall saye, Scipio oure
olde capitaine is aliuie againe.

C The citee of newe Carthage in Sypryn is
wonne by the Romaynes, wþþ a great pray
of gane & siluer, and al other necessaryes for
the warre, wþþ the pledges of the no-
ble men and citycs of Sypryn.

Capitu. xvi.

Vhen he had by these erþefacy-
ons benched the heartes of his
men, he lefte behynd him to kepe
that countrey H. Silianus with
three thousande footemen, and three hund
horsemen: with the rest of his armie whiche
Z. ii. was

The warres betwene the
was .xxv. thousand footemen, and .ii. viij.
and .v. C. horsemen, he passed the ruer
of Iberus. When he was passed ouer,
many counsayled him, seinge the armye
of the Carthaginenses was deuyded in
to thre partes, that he shold assayne that
host of them, whiche was next vnto him,
sayeng. It was perill if they were ioyned
together, least he shold not be able to re
siste them: but he had ymagined in his
minde, that he would fyrt assaulte Car
thago noua, which was then not onely
ryche of the richesse of the inhabitantes
of the same, but also ryche by meanes of
the Carthaginenses, who had layd there
theyr treasure, armour, with other appa
rell for the warre. There romayned also
in that citee, all the pledges of noble men
and citees of Spayne. Besides this, the
citee was situate vpon the se, from whence
it was easye to passe ouer into Affrica.
The hauen also thereof was able to re
ceyue easelye the greatest nauye of anye
prynce.

Of this his purpose no man was pryme,
but onely T. Lelius, gouernoure of the
shippes and armye by the sea, to whom
he commaunded so to tempze his course
wyth

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wyth his shippes, that his armie by land
and the other by sea, might both sodaine
ly appeare at Carthage in one tyme.

Whiche his charge was duely put in exe
cution. For the seventh daye after theyr
departyng from Iberus they mette at
newe Carthage, where incontinentes the
campe was made, and tentes pytched on
the North side of the citee.

C Powe is the syte or situacion of Car
thage on this maner: In the middell of
Spayne, there is a greate bosome or
goulf, into the whiche the sea hath hys
full course, wythin the land the length of
syue hundred passes, and the breadthe of
the sea in the same place, is muche of the
same quantite. In the inner parte or
furthest ende of this goulf, is a hylle, on
whiche the citee is buylded: and it is on
two partes, that is to saye, on the East
syde, and on the south syde, enclosed with
the sea, whiche from the sayde goulf or
bosome, renneth into the land by the one
syde of the citee. Upon the west side, it is
defended with a greate and brode poole,
that renneth vp also a good parte of the
North side of the towne: The dopenesse
of

The warres betwene the
of the poole is at no certayntee: For as
the sea doth arysse on heyght & ebbe lowe
so is the water therof deepe or shalowe.
Thus is the sayde citee on all partes en-
uyponed with water, as it were an yland
and the mayne lande there , passeth not
two hundred and fiftie paces in breadth
Wherfore sens the grounde there was
no broder, Scipio intended not to make
treches on that parte, for that he thought
him selfe stonge enough to kepe that ly-
tell pece of ground from his ennemys:
and also to thintente he myghte at all ty-
mes haue recourse to vewe the walles,
and strength of the towne.

When Scipio had ordered all thynges
ordinately vpon the land for the assaulte,
he then wente to the bauen, where he in
like maner ordered his shippes and his
men, that it might appeare to the citees
that they shoulde be assaulted, as well by
water as by lande: he also commanidde
hatche to be kept vpon the water in the
nyght season in euery shippe. And after
al thynges were prudently appoynted, he
retourned to his campe, wyllynge before
he

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he did any thing, touchinge the assaulte,
to instructe and admonyshis people of
his minde, concernyng the same, and to
comforde them in that enterprize, he cal-
led them together and made his oration
to them in this wise.

Who so euer beleueth(good souldours)
that ye are nowe broughte byther onelye
to assaulte and winne this one towne, he
doth more consider your labour and pain
therin, than the profyte that shall ensue
thereof. True it is, that ye shall assaulte
and skale the walles but of one onelye
towne:but in the obtaynyng of this one
ye also shall winne the hole countrey of
Spayne. For in this towne are the pled-
ges of al the noble men, kinges and peo-
ple of Spayne, who beinge ones taken,
full shorflye shall cause all that euer the
Carthaginenses do nowe posseede, to be
yelded vnto vs, and to be vnder oure do-
minion. Here also is all the money and
treasure of our enemies: whyche beynge
taken from thē, they shal be able no lōger
to mainteyn the warres, seing they haue
many hired straungers in theyz armye.
And the same treasure shall meruaillously
profyte

The warres betwene the
profeyle vs, thereby to winne the heates
and loue of these barbarous people. Be-
syde this, here remayneth theyz ordinance
their armare, and all abilmente s nec-
sarye for the warre: whiche beinge ones
wonne, shall serue well our purpose, and
thereof make our ennemis bare, to their
bter destruction. Furthermore, we shall
be lordes of a fayre & a ryche citee, where-
vnto lyeth a goodlye hauen, wherby we
shall be serued both by sea and by land, of
all thinges that we shall at anye tyme
lacke. The hauinge of these thinges shall
not onely be pleasant and profitable vnto
vs, but also the lacke of the same, shall
be a muche greater hindraunce and losse
to our enemies. For this citee hath bene
and is theyz greatest strengthe. Here be
theyz store houses for corne, here is theyz
treasureye, here is theyz armoyre, & theyz
houses stufed with all thinges necessary
for their shippes of warre: generally this
citee is the onelye receptacle of all that
they haue. Byther lyeth the ryght course
by sea, from Affrica to Spayne. And now
sens I perceyue ye be sufficiently instruc-
ted, and haue all thinges in good order
meet for the purpose, let vs with good
hartes,

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hartes, and all oure strength, make haste
to the assaunting of this new Carthage.
Therewithall, euerye man with lounde
voice assented thereto. And he, not thin-
kinge to be slacke in hys busynes, wente
forth toward Carthage, causinge it to be
assasted both by water and by lande.
On the other side, Mago capitaine of the
Carthaginenses, perceyuinge that the
assault was ordeined to be gauen both by
sea and land, he disposed his men within
the towne on this maner: Two. M. of the
townesmen he caused to be armed and
put in araye on that parte of the towne,
that the Romaine tentes or campe was,
five. M. men he appointed to kepe the ca-
stell & other. v. C. he assigned to remayne
vpon a hille, that was within the citee
toward the east: The rest of the people he
commaunded to be redy to helpe and suc-
coure their compaines, in what place of
the towne so euer they saw mosse nede to
resist. And whan so euer they herde anye
crie made in any parte, throughe the vio-
lent force of the assauntinge: than sodaine-
lye the gate was open, wherat he caused
the ii. M. souldiours of the towne to issue
vpon the Romaines, at whose firste
com-

The warres betwene the
Carthaginians, Scipio caused his men to re-
tire backe, to thintent he myghte drawe
them farther from the towne, and more
were the rest of the Romaine armie. At
the syxt the battayle was stiffe, and well
maintained on both parts, but whan the
Carthaginenses perceived so great a nu-
ber comming from the tentes of the Ro-
maines, to the succoure of theyr felowes,
they fled with great feare towarde theyr
cittie, and were chased and slayne hard at
theyr gates: whiche caused no lesse trem-
bling to be in the cittie, tha was before in
the battayle. In so much that diuers plau-
ces of the walles were leste bare and na-
ked, without men to defende the same, e-
very man left from his appointed place,
so greate and sodayne was theyr feare.
This perceived well Scipion, standinge
on an hil without the towne. Wherefore
he commaunded his souldyours, to come
out of theyr tentes spedily, to the assault
of the towne, and to bynge wyth them
scalyng ladders. His commaundemente
was fulfylled. The fight was strunge on
bothe partes. And to encourage the
more his people, Scipio hym selfe came
thither, vnder the couerte of sheldes
and

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and panesses, to withstande the shot that
came from the walle, of arowes darteres
and other ingynnes, whiche was greate.
There he sometyme exhorted and com-
forted his men: sometime he counsayled
them, what was best for them to doe, for
the attaining of theyr purpose. This his
presence was a wytnesse, bothe of mens
valiant courage, and also of theyr cowar-
dise, whereby euery man enforced hym
selfe to clymme vp, neyther regardinge
the heigthe of the walles, nor fearyng
the men of armes, that fierselye defended
the walles. On þ other syde of the towne
lyke assault was giuen from the shippes,
by that part that laye towarde the wa-
ter: But also to small purpose. For
Mago had so furnyshed the walles wyth
armed men, euer bringyng them pleny of
darteres & other ordinaunces, that the Ro-
mans lost more tha they wan. And aboue
al thinges, the sauinge of the towne was
the heigthe of the walles, wherby seve of
theyr ladders were able to reche to the
toppe of the same, and those ladders that
were longest, were thereto most weake: so
that whan one was ascended vp on anye
of them, other wold also clyme after him
theron,

The warres betwene the
theron, and so with heauy burden being
loded, many of them brake, to the greate
hurte of the climers. ¶ Herbpon Scipio,
considering his vaine labours, caused his
very company to withdrawe them, and
to rest them: wherby the Carthaginenses
were not only eased and releued of they
present feare and daunger, but also there
by toke a hardy courage and opinō, that
the citee was out of al daunger of taking
by any assaute, and that they were strong
enough to defend it, till their other cap
taines of the Carthaginenses armes
might haue time enough to come to their
rescous, and to reise their siege. It drewe
then toward the middel of the day, when
certayne fishermen of Tarragon, that
had ben fisching in theyz boates on the said
greate and large poole, that laye on the
northweste parte of the towne certysped
Scipio, that the water thereof was than
at a verye lowe ebbe, and also the north
wind, being very quicke, and drivinge the
wawes with the tide, caused a lower dale
than had lightlye bene seen, so that men
might wel wade ouer to the walles of the
citee, the water being in most places not
paste the middell of a man, and in some
partes

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partes not past the knees. This strange
fortune of that vnseen lowe ebbe of the
water, Scipio tourned to a miracle, say
ing: It was the wyll and pleasure of the
goddes, to wythdrawe at that tyme the
water from that great poole, to make fo
r the Romaines a passage, & to open theim
awaye, by whiche never man before had
passed. ¶ With these strunge persuasions,
he caused the rest of his armie, which had
rested them in their tentes, duryng the
time of the firsse assaute, to take ladders
and engins, and to geue a new assaute in
the same place, where they were before
beaten backe. There began a fierse and
a cruell bickerynge. Neuerthelesse the
height of the walles was so benefciall
to the citizens, that were they never so
valiante and hardy, yet vp could they not
get: but were ouerthowen with smalle
peine to the townes men.
¶ While they were busie and attentife to
defend the Citee, as well there as on the
sea coste, Scipio, with a good number of
strunge men, secretlye withdrew hym to
the saide ponde: where he bad his compa
nye folow the god Neptune, that shuld
be theyz guide on their way through that
shalow

The warres betwene the
Chalowe water. Thereupon they with
small laboure wente ouer, and set vp lad-
ders to the walles, which they found easie
to be scaled, and not kepte with any men
of warre. For that they hauinge a sure
hope in the natural strength on that part
by reason of the water, had made no mu-
nimentes or defence: nor yet lefte anye
watch there: euerye man was gone to the
defence of the other partes, in the whiche
assault semed most fierse & dangerous,
so that without any resistance they entred
the towne, and incontinent made hast to
come to the gate, where the battaile was
most busy & strong. To whiche whā they
were come, they found al the townsmen so
ernest in their defēce, or in conforting their
felawes, that they neither herd nor sawe
the Romaines til they percevued them at
their backes, throwing of dartes, & sicing
them on all partes, norther tyll that tyme
knew they þ towne to be won. Thā aron
were þ gates brokē downe, & a great nu-
ber of armed mē entred at the gate, many
had by that time gotten in ouer the wal-
les, some wet incōtinēt abouete the towne
sleyng all that they met: another compa-
ny wente in araye to the market place
through

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throughe the myddell of the Citee. Than
perceved they theyz ennemyes sleynge,
some to the hill within the towne, that
was kepte with. v. vi. men of war. Mago
with a greate noumber with him fled to
the castel. Then Scipio sent parte of his
host to the sayde hyll, whyche anone was
wonne, and the people slaine or els taken.
The rest went to assault the castel, which
Mago a season þa gantlyc defended: but
saying all the towne ful of his ennemisies,
and that he was not like to haue any sic-
course: he yeldeþ hym selfe with the ca-
stell to the Romaynes. Then ceassed they
to make anye further slaughter in the ci-
tee. Euerye man wente to the spoyle of
the towne, the praye wheroft was greate,
as welle of golde and siluer as of ordyn-
nance, armillare, corne, shippes, yren,
laten and manye other thinges mate for
the apparell of shippes: the certaintee
wheroft I will not reherse, for þ warres
vary much therin. There was alle. r. xx.
prisoners take, wheroft as many as were
citizens Scipio let go at libertee, and suf-
fered to dwel still in the towne, and to en-
joy as muche of theyz goodes as was not
before spoyled. Amonge other prylouers
there

The warres betwene the
there were. ii. v. of craftes men, whiche
be caused to be bonde men to worke for
the common profite of the citie of Rome,
putting them in comfort, that they shuld
within shorte space bee made all free, yf
they wold labour and worke earnestlye
aboute suche necessaries, as they shoulde
have neede of in the warre. A greate nom-
ber of the rest, that were seruautes and
lusty yonge men, he sente to be rowers in
his shippes and galeys in the places of
suche as lacked. And he also encreased his
nauy of eight shippes wel furnished. Be-
side all these prisoners he hadde also the
pledges of noble men & cities, to a greate
noumber: whom he caused to be wel kept
and gentlye encreased. The reste of that
daye Scipio gaue lycence to hys werye
men to rest hem selues. For there were
fewe, but they had all the daye before ben
soore trauayled with fighting in one place
or other. The custodye of the towne he
gaue to Cn. Lelius and his compayne of
see men, and him selfe went to his tentes

C Of the gentilnes of Scipio, in restoryng a
sayze yonge virgin undefiled to Luceius,
unto whom she was syaunced.

Cap. xlvi.

D

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 175
C Of the gentilnes of Scipio, in restoring a
sayze yonge virgin undefiled to Luceius
unto whom she was syaunced.

Cap. xlvi.



¶ the morowe he assembled all his hoste together, and fyrt he gaue humble thankes and prayse to the gods, that had geuen in to his handes in one day so great, so noble, and so ryche a citie, the like whereof was not to be found in Spayne. Into whiche his ennemis had gathered together the treasure both of Africa & also of Spayne, in suche abundance, that there was but litell or nothing left for them: the Romaines having great plenty of all thinges. Next he much prayed the noble courage and daillantnes of his men of warre, whome neyther the sodayne excursation of theyz ennemis out of the towne, neyther the high walles or waters of the same, could make astrayde or let theym of theyz enterprise: neyther yet theyz castels & stronge towers, could resist theyz powers. About other, he prayed much twayne that sterte scaled the walles, and entred the towne,

A.A.L.

33

The warres betwene the
so eche of them he gaue a crowne of good
value: his other souldours he rewarded
euery man after his vertue and merites:
but specially Cn. Lelius the gouernoure
of the nauye, he prayed and much loued,
to whom he gaue for a reward a crown,
of golde, and .xxx. oren.

Thē caused he the pledges to be brought
before him, willinge them to be of good
comfor te, and that they shoul d consyder,
that they were nowe in the power of the
Romaines, whose naturall property and
desire is, to bynde men through theyz be
nef ytes shelvinge, to loue theym, rather
than by compulsion to kepe men in feare
of them. And had rather to soine strange
nations in amitee with them by fauhtful
feloweship, then lawefullly to kepe the
in miserable seruitude. Then he toke the
names of the cityes, that had theyz pled
ges there, and to the ambassadoures that
by chauice were with him present of any
of the sayd cities, he incontinent deliv
ered the pledges unto them: to the other ci
ties he sent messangers, wylling them to
send unto him for them, and they shoul d
haue theyz pledges frely delivred. Ther
were also taken many noble matrōnes,

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 173
honest maydens, whom he committed to
sob're and honest men to be kept, without
any force or dishonoure to be done vnto
them: amonge other captives there was
one virgin brought vnto him, of so excel
lent beautie, that wheresoever she wente
all men delited to beholde her. Scipio en
quired of her, of what countrey she was,
and of what kinred she was descended, &
he perceiued by her, that she was betrou
thed or made sure to a yonge prince of the
Celtiberians, whose name was Luceius.
Wherupon he incontinent sente for the
sayd yong man, and also for her parents
At whose coming, knowyng þ the yonge
man was soze enamored of her, he thus
sayd unto him: I being a yong man haue
sent for you that are also a yonge man, to
come to me, the cause is for that whē this
yong maiden, being fiances or ensured to
you, was brought to me, by my souldors
I herd say, that you entierly loued her.
And her beautie witnesseth, þ you haue
good cause so to do. If I might lawefullly
enjoye her pleasaunte loue, and were not
otherwise occupied in my mind about the
affaires of the common wealth, I coulde
perchaunce beare her my loue, and
A. a. ii. 173
desyre

The warres betwene the
desire to enioye the the same: but nowe
will beare fauoure to youre loue , that
ryght ought to haue her. She hath bene
here with me as well and honourably
kept, & her virginity p[re]served as though
she had dwelled still with her owne pa-
rentes, to th[er] intent I mighte make of her
a present to you most acceptable, & for the
conseruatiō of mine honour. And for this
my gift, I require of you but one onely
rewardē, that is, that you scō henseforth
become a louing frēde to the Romaines.
And if ye esteme me to be a good or an
honorable man, as my father & uncle befor
me were reputed soz to be: thinke þ there
are in the noble citē of Rome many like
vnto vs. And trusst me never, if anyp[ro]p-
ple can this daye be founde on the earth,
that you will be gladder to haue the loue
& frendeship of, or that ye would be riot-
sor to haue the displasur of. The yong
man, after greate thankes geuen him,
prayd the goddes to rewardē him for his
goodnes, where his power, suffised not.
Then were the parentes of the mayden
called forth, who had brought with them
a great summe of golde for the redemptiō
on of their childe. But when they percep-
tib

Romaynes and the Cartthagincis. 193
ped that he had geuen her frelye to her
husband, they desyred him to take a parte
thereof, as of theyz gyfte, for the declara-
tion of theyz good heartes towards him:
assyyminge, that his receyvinge thereof
should be as toyfull vnto them, as the re-
stitution of theyz daughter vndesiled.

¶ Then Scipio, beinge overcome with
their long and vehement intercessiō, cau-
sed the sayde summe to be layde on the
ground befoz his feete, and callinge Lu-
cius agayne to him, he sayd. Beside the
dowrie that ye shal receive of your father
in lawe, for the mariage of his daughter
ye shal also take this gift at my hande.

Wyth whiche his great gyfte, and also
muche honour done to him besyde, he re-
tourned home to his house and countrey,
declaring to every man the honoure and
magnificece of Scipio, sayeng, that there
was a yong man come moste lyke vnto a
god, who both wyth his power in warre
and also with his gentlenes and liberali-
ty in peace, had ouercome all the coun-
try. This yonge gentleman leauing his
house and familie in good ordre, shortlye
after retourned to Scipio, bringing with
him a. p. C C C C. good horsemen, to

The warres betwene the
to the ayde and succour of the Romains.
Then Scipio sent C. Lelius to Rome, to
beare tidinges of his victorye, and wyth
him he sente Mago, and xv. other sena-
tors of newe Carthage, which were, at
the taking of the same cite, taken also pri-
soners and after he had repayred the bro-
ken walles of the citree, and set thersina
sufficient numbre of souldiours, for the
defence of the same : he remoued to Le-
racon : whither he had appoynted the le-
gates of all his olde frenedes, and also of
his newe gotten acquaintance, to resoy-
for a further communication of theyz al-
iance, and for the further procedyng of
theyz assayres.

C Annibal slayeth Cn. Fulius with. xiii. Komaynes, beside Herdonea : Marcellus the
consull chaseth Annibal through Apulia
makinge manye skirmishes with
him. Cap. xlviij.

In this estate were the warres in
Spayne, duryng whych tyme the con-
sull Marcellus toke Salapia by tre-

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 174
son, and two other townes of the Sam-
nites by force: where he slewe. iiiij. thousand
men of warre, which Annibal had leste
for the keping of the same townes. And
Cn. Fulius the proconsull, truffying to
winne Herdonea from Annibal, whiche
was not verye stronge of it selfe, neyther
had any garrison leste there, for the suffi-
cient defence thereof: he remoued thyther
wyth his armye, hauinge the more hope
and comfort to attayne the same, for that
he knew wel, that Annibal after the losse
of Salapia, was departed into the coun-
try of the Brutians. But suche as were
the sure frenedes of Annibal in the towne
of Herdonea, sent him priuylie worde by
messangers. And he desirous to kepe still
his olde frenedes, hasted so with his horse
men & lightest footmen, making so great
journyes, that he was already come nere
Herdona, before the fame of his coming
wer wel knownen. And to put y Remans
in more feare, he appeared in good araye
of battayle sodainly with baners display-
ed. whiche Fulius perceiving, with like
hardines made sped to put his folke in
araye, and soyned battayle wyth hym.
Than annibal comauded his horsemen
that

The warres betwene the
that after a signe or token to them made,
whiles the Romaynes were busy in bat-
tayle agaynst his footemen, and evert
mans eye were occupied busily, that they
should secrely cosse the field, and a part
of them to set vpon the backes of his en-
emies, one other part of them to inuade
theyr campe and tentes with great noise
and slaughter, sayengē, that he trusted to
vanquishe this Fulvius as he had. ii. pe-
res pastre overcome an other Fulvius of
his name in the same countrey. And in
his hope he was nothing deceipted, for so
soone as the horsemen assayled the Ro-
maynes on their backes with great feare
and slaughter, anone from the campe was
heard a great crye: whereby the Romay-
nes that before kepte araye and foughte
beidely, were so dismayde, that some fled
and many mo were slayn. Among which
the sayd Fulvius and. iii. tribunes, with
xiiii. M. Romaynes were slaine, and their
campe and stusse taken.

Then Annibal trusinge nothing to the
strength of that towne, remoued the in-
habiters thereof to Metapontus, and to
the Thurines. He slewe the capitaines
thereof, whiche had secrete communication

Romaynes and the Carthaginases. 179
with the Counsull, and after he sette the
towne on fyre.

Marcellus the Consull, besyngē nothing
astrayde with the tidynges of this losse,
sente letters to the senate of Rome, hyd-
dyngē theim to bee no whitte dyscomfor-
ted therewith: for he doubted not, but he
woulde cause Annibal to haue but ve-
rye short ioye of his victorie. Whereupon
he immedately remoued towarde Annib-
al, pitching his campe in the platne fiel-
des even in the sight of his enemies. And
sone after valiantly came forthe in order
of battaile, redye to fighte. On the other
side Annibal was no lesse quicke than he.
The battaile betwene them, bothe of the
horsemen and of the footemen was mer-
uailous fierce and cruell, neyther ceasid
it, tyl the nighte departed them, with in-
differēt losse of both parties. In the night
Annibal secretly remoued and went into
Apulia. Marcellus in the morwyng, per-
ceyngē the departure of his ennemis,
folowed incointinent, and ouertoke them
nere vnto Uenisia. Thus passed they all
Apulia without any notable battaile, the
one folowyng the other: And euer Annib-
al woulde remoue in the night, sekinge

The warres betwene the
a place to deceiue his ennemis. But the
consul alwayes folowed in the day time,
sending before him espies to be sure from
the craftie traine of Annibal.

The summer was almolte ended, and
the time of chosing consuls drew nere, at
the whiche chusinge Marcellus shoulde
haue been him selfe : but he sente his let-
ters to Rome, affyrminge, that it shoulde
be righte hurtful to ihe common welth,
yf he did depart one foote from Anniball.
For his absence, yea his onely ceassynge
to assayle hym, shoulde geue hym muche
courage. Wherevpon he was commau-
ded to abyde stille with his armye. The
other consul Leutus was sent for. Then
were chosen counsuls. Q. Fabius Marti-
nus, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus. Besydes
this it was determined, that M. Claudi-
us Marcellus shoulde kepe also his armye
and the warres agaynst Anniball one
yere longer.

As touchinge the warres in Spaine, it
wasordeined, yf Publius Scipio & Sulla-
nus shuld be there gouernours, not onelye
for a yare, but vnto the tyme they were
called from the same by the senate.
About this tyme caine the ambassadours

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 178
of kynge Syphar from Affrica to Rome,
shewynge the prosperous battayles that
he hadde foughte with the Carthaginen-
ses, desyryng to haue the amitee of the
Romaynes agreed to hym by the whols
senate, whyche before was moued be-
twene him and the two bretherne Cne-
sus, and P. Scipio in Spaine. To whose
ambassadours the senatours not onelye
gau gentyl thankes & louing answeres,
but also sente by them to the kinge, riche
presentes.

Not long after tiddinges were broughte
to Rome out of Affrica, that Massanissa,
the sonne of kynge Gala, was come to
Carthage with v. M. Numidians, and
that a great noumber of other Africains
were hyred to go ouer into Spaine to As-
drubal, to the intent y he, strōgly accom-
panied, might depart shortly frō thēs into
Italy to his brother Anniball, in whome
they iudged y hope of their victory to rest.

About the same time came Lelins oute
of Spaine to Rome bringing with him a
greate noumber of prisoners, rehersyng
in the senate house the happy wynnynge
of newe Carthage in one daye, with the
getting of many new friends in Spaine.
These

The warres betwene the
These nevves made them not so myry, as
the coming of Asorubal into Itaile made
them afayde, consyderynge, that befor
he was come, all they^r power was skant
able to resist the onelye power of Annib
all. Neverthelesse, wyth as good chere
as coulde be, they discharged Lelius, sen
dynge him againe into Spayne wyth the
shippes that came with hym.

¶ Marcellus geyeth battayle to Anniball, in
which his men be put to fleyght, wherepon
he maketh them a sharpe oration, he re
neweth the battayle on the morow,
putteth Anniball and hys hoste to
fleyghte, with losse of many of his
men. Cap. xlvi.


Be ne we Consul, leauynge all
things in good order at Rome,
departed towardes the warres
¶ D. Fulius Flaccus passed
Capua, to whome. D. Fabius made in
stante request, before he departed, that he
woulde kepe straight and quicke warres
with Annibal whyles that he did besiege
the citee of Tarente: whiche citee, yf he
michte ones take from hym, he shoulde
have

Romarnes and the Cartthaginenses. 177
haue no place sure to go to, neither know
to what cost he might safely tourne him:
so that he shoulde afterwarde haue small
cause to abide in Italy. The same request
he also made to Marcellus by his letters:
who thinkynge no man in Italye so able
to matche Anniball, as he was hym selfe,
was so kendled and stirred wyth Fabius
letters, that so soone as the wynter was
passed, and anye foode was founde in the
fieldes able to sustaine his army and cat
tel, he wente to Canusium, wheres Annib
all then laye, and had moued the rulers
of the towne to yelde vnto hym, leauynge
the Romayne amitee. But so soone as he
perceived that Marcellus was come, he
remoued from thense leauing that plaine
country, and sought the hilly & wooddye
country, whiche might be more apte for
traynes of deceite fox his ennemis.

Marcellus euer folowed him hard, soy
ninge almyste campe to campe. Dyuers
skirmishes were made betwene the horse
men of bothe partes. But Anniball not
mindinge to scoparde all at ones, fled be
fore him in the night. At the last the other
ouertoke him in the plaine fielde: And as
Anniball caused his campe to be trenched
and

The warres betwene the
and fortifyed, Marcellus wþt hys men
lef the workes thereof : so that whether
he wold or no, he was enforced to do bat-
taile, whiche thinge he had most eschued.
Wherfore they ordered theyr armes on
both parties, and fougþte tyl the nyghte
departed them. On the morowe Mar-
cellus earlye put hys men in good araye,
and Annibal did the same, exhortinge his
men to remember theyr noble conquesstes
at Trasymenus and at Cannas, and not
to suffer theyr gredy & vncreasonable ene-
mye to vere them, that they might not
haue time to encampe them selues, ye
scarsly to loke abouit or to take breathe.
The sonne whā it riseth, & the Romaine
army, do bath at one time appere in the
fieldes. But in case (saith he) ye so handel
him, that he may ones departe with losse
of hys men out of the fielde, he wyl here-
after be more easye to intreate. With
these exhortacions, & also being euill con-
tentid with the tedious continuall pur-
suing of their enemies: they fierily wȝt to
battaile where they fougþt cruelly by the
space of .ii. longe houres. At the laste the
ryghte wyngē of th e Romaynes gaue
backe, whose place to fulfil, Marcellus ap-
pointed

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 19
pointed another legion of men of armes
of his company. But as the syðste reculed
with feare, so the other came faintly into
their places. At the laste the Romaines
host being more feareful than shamefast,
began to flee. There was slaine that day
of the Romans. ii. thousand & seuen hun-
dred, whereof. iii. were captyaynes hun-
dreders, and two tribunes.

Marcellus after that he was come into
his campe, made to his souldiers so soore
and cruell an oracyon, that the woordes
of the angrye captyayne seemed to them
more displeaunt and peineful, than the
trauayle that they toke in the battayle
the daye before.

I am much bound (safeth he) to the im-
mortall goddes, whan ye so fearefull ye
trouled together into your tentes, that
it chaunced not your ennemys, after hys
victoþe, to assayle your campe also. For
no safte, loke with what feare ye lefte the
battaile, with like feare also had ye forsa-
ken your campe. What sodayne feare hath
now inuaded you. What chinge hath cau-
sed you so lone to forget, bothe the estate
of your selfe, and also of your enemies?
Doe ye not remember, that these be the
same

The warres betwene the
same ennemys, whom ye ouercame and
pursued the lasse Sommer: these be the
same, whom fleyng before you both day
and nighte, ye chased throughe the coun-
treis. Ye they be the same, that yesterday
ye wolde neyther suffer to flee from you,
nor yet geue them so muche time, as to
fortifye theyz syalde. I wyll no more re-
herse thinges, wherein ye may glory: but
but now wil I declare things wherof ye
ought muche to be ashamed.

Yesterdale ye departed from the basteyle
with euен hande: and nowe what hathe
this daye or this night been so great a let-
buto you, or taken from you: Was your
armye there by anye whit lessed, or theri
power any white increased? Truelye me
thinketh nowe, that I speake not to mine
owne compayne of souldyours, nor yet to
Romaines. I perceiue here nothinge of
them, but bodies and armioure. For yf ye
had had the same hertes & myndes your
ennemys shuld never haue loked you on
the backes: nor you had losse none of your
standerdes. Before this time he could ne-
ver glory of the slaughter of anye of our
company, only yesterday ye gaue him the
hono: by the death of youre felowes.

Then

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 179
When every man cried out aloud to hym
desiring pardon of the day past: and ones
againe to trie the hearte and courage of
his me, whensoever it shold please him.
Sowe (said he) truly and I wil proue you
againe, for I will to morowe in the mor-
ning set you forth in araye, to the intent
that ye as vanquishers may aske forgiv-
enes, rather than as people vanquished.
On the morowe, after that his men had
well eaten and dronken, and made them
strong, when he shold put his people in
order, he sette in the vaward those that
fled fyre the daye before, and those com-
panies that losse theyz standerdes: and
then the other as him besse liked, com-
manndyng them all earnestly to fyghte
and to ouercome theyz enemys: so that
the victo:re of that presente daye myghte
flye and come to Rome before the sclau-
der of yesterdaies fleyng.

When Annibal heard of the fierce cou-
rage of Marcellus, he sayde: We haue to
do nowe with suche an enemys, as can
neyther suffer his good fortune nor bad.
For if he ouercome his enemys, he gre-
dely wil assayleth them: And when he is
ouercome, he also fiersely renneth the

B.b.i. warres

The warres betwene the
warres upon them. After these wordes,
he incontinent broughte his hoste forthe
into the fielde, where the battaille was
more cruel then it was the day before.
The Carthaginenses ever striuinge to
kepe the honoure, and the Romaynes to
avenge the shame gotten the day before
The aduaantage of the battayl betwene
them abode long in suspence. Marcellus
as a presente witnesse, was euer readye
to comforthe and exhorte his Romaines.
Anniball, seinge the doubtfulnesse of the
syght and victorye, to put his ennemys
to sodayne feare, caused his Elephantes
to be sette agaynst the forewarde: whiche
at the syxt commyng, brought them oute
of order, and did them much trouble and
hurte: whereby the one part thereof was
lefte bare and voyde of resillence, and the
rest had fled also, had not Decius Flau-
ius a tribune taken the standerd of one of
the bandes of horsmen, commaundynge
the compayne belongyng to the same
to folowe him boldelye, whome they ob-
eyed: and incontinente brought theym
where the compayne of Elephantes dyd
most displeasure, causinge moste trouble
and

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 180
and rumour. Then bad he them couragi-
ously to thowbe theyp vartes and speares
at those beastes, whiche they did, woun-
dnyng many of them: who felynge theym
selues hurte, wyth greate rage ranne a-
waye, and coulde not be stayed by theym
that rode on them. The Romaynes folo-
wed them all, and drove the vpon theym
owne company of Spaniardes and Car-
thaginenses, makynge greater slaughter
among them, than they had before done
to the Romaynes. And when they sawe
the Cartaginenses by this means
brought out of array, the Romayn foote-
men in order entred and brake the araye
cleane, puttinge theym to flighte: whome
Marcellus caused his horsmen to solowe.
And the chace ceasted not, till they were
driven into the gates of theym campe,
with great losse both of men and of Ele-
phantes. There were slayne that daye.
viii. M. men, and fift clephantes. Of the
Romaynes there were slayne thre thou-
sand, and very many sore hurte. Where
upon Annibal, the next night folowyng,
remoued vnto the Bantians: and Mar-
cellus abode there a season, to cure hys
hurt souldours.

The warres betwene the
¶ Howe M. Fabius Maximus reconered
from Annibal the citee of Tarent.
Capitu. xlii.



P this season. M. Fabius Maximus the consull tooke Manduria wyth force, and from thens remoued to Tarente, pitchinge his tentes hard by the mouthe of the hauen, where he founde certaine shippes, whiche Linius the late consul had left there for the defense of other shippes that broughte bytale and other necessari prouision for the castell. Al these shippes, and also al other that came with vittailes and prouision thither, he charged some with gunnes & stones, and all kynde of weapens inuasine, some he laded with scaling ladeers, and other engins to assault the towne: so that by the sea al thinges were ready for the assault. And then he by land also orde red his compayne for the same. Howe to helpe his purpose to be atchieued, there chaunced a small thing in estimation: yet it proved maruaillous happy, for the successe of his great enterprize. Annibal had sent to Tarent a crue of men of warre of

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the countrey of the Brutians. The capitayne of this company was merailously enamored of a yonge woman in the citye, whose brother was then souldioure in the host of Fabius, to whom his sister sent worde by letters, to whom his sister and newe acquaintance of her earnest louer, and of his great riches and honour. Whereupon this man imagining, & trus syng also, þ the loue of his sister myghte leade her louer to do what so euer she wold dewise, conceyued a hope to do good thereby touchinge the winninge of the towne. Whereupon he secretly opened his minde to his capitayne Fabius, desiringe him, that he woulde licence him to departe from the armye, and to go into the citee, whyche he woulde undertake to do, by disseimblinge him selfe to be stolen away from his compayne, for the loue of his sister, desirous to be a citemen there. The consull thinking to prove the effect of his opinion, suffered him to depart. Thus came he to his sister, and by her meanes fell in great familiaritey wyth her louer the capitayne of the Brutians. And after longe acqueyntance he began couertly to prove his mindes a lyttel and

The Warres betwene the
Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 182
Istel. After when he found some towardes
nes in him, he set his sister in hand wyth
him, who wyth her fayre and flatteryng
wordes so compassed him, that to haue
her loue, he consented to the betraynge
of that parte of the citee, whereof he was
ruler and capitayne.

Wherupon they were agreed on the tyme,
maner and circumstance of the purpose:
the souldour secretly in the night, was
let forthe oute of the towne, and came to
his capitayne, declaringe vnto him what
he had done, and what waye he shoulde
take to atchiese his enterprize. At the
tyme and houre appoynted, whiche was
the beginninge of the nighte the consull
hadde prepared, that on the sea syde in
the hauen, his shippes and men of warre
thereto appoynted shoulde violently as-
saulte the towne. And on an other parte
the Romaynes in the castell, wyth all
theyz force also, shoulde assayle the cite-
zens: and he wyth a good numbre wyth
him, purfilye drewe him to the Caste
parte of the towne, where he abode a
long season wythout makyng any noise.
There was great noyse and bruite made
purpose

purposely on the hauen syde, and on the
syde towarde the castell, where leaste
daunger was: So that Denocrates the
capitayne, whych was than nyghe vnto
the crewe of the Brutians, searyng least
In his absence, the Romaynes myghte
chaunce on the other side to wynne the
towne, whyche to feare he was moued
by the great rumour and crepe of the cite-
zens on that parte. Wherupon he hearde all
thinges quyete and at restte on that parts
of the towne, wherein he was, he wyth
his people hasted toward the castell side,
where he heard the greatest noyse.
When the Consull, hearynge the noyse
caused of men of armes, whiche before
were verye londe, iudginge that the ke-
pars of that ward were gone from thens
he commandide streyghte scalyngge lad-
ders to be sette to the walles ou that side
where the Brutians kept ward, whych
was done wythoute any resistance.
For the Brutians not onely made no re-
sistance, but also holpe them vp.
Thus entered they the towne, & freight
wente to the nexte gate, the whiche they
brake, and caused muche of theyz compa-
nye

The warres betwene the Romaynes
pany to entre with theyz baners display-
ed. And by the breake of the daye, they
came into the market place. The Taren-
tines perciuing their towne to be taken
came with all their power frome the ca-
stell side, and from the hauen, to the suc-
cour thereof: but al to late. For after the
battayle was a lstell begunne, they felte
them selues farre vnable to resyffe the
Romaynes. Wherefore anone they fled
euery man to his house, or to his fren-
des house. There were Pico and Demo-
crates slaine in battaille. Philomenes the
chiefe authoure of betravenge the towne
to Annibal, toke his horse and fledde: but
whither he went, or what became of him
it was not after knownen. Great slaug-
hter was made both of the Carthagin-
es and of the Tarentines. Manye pris-
oners were taken, and a ryche spoile. The
wall which Anniball made to deuide the
castell from the towne thowen downe.

Anniball when he first heard, that Ta-
rent was besieged he with all haste possi-
ble hyed thereto to the succoure thereof.
But when he came nere thereunto, and
hearde newes of the takinge of the ci-
tee

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citee, & by what meanes, he sayd: I nowe
doe right well finde, that the Romaynes
haue also an other Annibal amdg them.
For even by such crafte as we wan Ta-
rent, by suche haue we losse it. Then so
that it shoulde not appeere, that he were
reculed for feare, he pytched hys campe
fife miles from the citee, where he taried
certayne daies: and from thense wente to
Metapontus, where he caused letters to
be written by two of the chiefe rulars of
the citee to Fabius. The contentes there-
of was, that if it woulde please the Ro-
maynes and hym, to receiuē theym into
theyz grace, and to remitte all theyz olde
injuries and wronges to them done: they
would deliver into his handes, bothe the
towne, and also the garrison of the Ca-
thaginēses, which were within the same.
Fabius nothinge mystrustinge, sente to
them againe, appointinge a time, when
he wolde come to Metapontus to speake
with them, which letters were streyghte
brought to Annibal. Who beyngē verye
iopouse, to trayne & deceiue the olde wyse
Fabius. At the tymē appointed layde a
great ambushement vpō the way, where
Fabius shoulde passe to Metapontus.

The

The same tyme whan Fabius shoulde depart, he sought by divinacions and au-
guris, how he shuld sped in hys voyage
as by the kylling of a beast, and therwith
to do sacrifice: and by the lucke of byrdes,
as the detestable bse was then, and
longe before hadde bene amonge the Ro-
manes. Whiche auguris were so un-
luckye and vntowarde, that they shewed
to him some euill aduenture, if he wente
forwarde in his appoincte journey.
Wherfore the deuyours or wylle men
advised him, to tary byl in his tentes, for
feare of treason.

The Metapontans, seing that Fabius
came not at the day assigned, sent againe
to him reuyryng hym to come to their
capitaines. Whiche messangers were in
continent taken and examyned vpon the
case. And they fearinge the tourmentes
that were prepared for them, confessed
all the deceite and treason, whereby
Fabius escaped his death, and
the destruction of many of
hys aring.

Scrip-

Scrip io sygheþ with Hasdrubal beside Be-
tula, dryueth hym from his hyll, Sicaeth. viii.

M. of hys host, taketh. xi. M. prisoners
with Massus newew to Massanissa
and a great pray in the campe.

Capitulo. i.



In the same summer time,
whiles all these thynges
were done in Italy P. Socie-
plo beinge in Spayne, had
so gotte the loue of the Spa-
nyardes, that Enisco, In-
dibilis, and Mandonius, thre great prin-
ces of Spayne, were come into his amites
and aliaunce. Indibilis desired, that their
cominge might not be dishonourable vnto
them, and that no man shuld reproche
them after, that they were stolen awaye
from theyz old friendes of Carthage, and
lyke lighte people were runne to the Ro-
manes: For he sayd, they had done wro-
thily at all times for them. Whyche theyz
kynderesse was euer recompensed with
pride, auarice, and manye iniuryes, so
that onely theyz bodyes abode in the ami-
tee of Carthage, but theyz hertes hadde
longe beeene towardes the Romaynes:
Whors

The warres betwene the
whome they knewe euer to be kepers of
theyr truse taken , and mainteiners of
right and equitec. Wherefore he desyrd
Scipio , to receive theyr friendelye com-
myng vnto him, accordinge to their mea-
ninge and intente, and as he found them
dyligent in theyr seruice doing vnto him,
so to esteime them. Scipio hertly thanked
them , grauntynge theyr requelles in all
thynges . And herevpon theyr wyues and
childdren were restored vnto them, whiche
before were captiues with Scipio: and a
fledfasse alliance of amitee was knyt be-
twene theym . And sone after theyr hole
power of men of war came to these p[ro]vin-
ces , and soyned in campe wyth the Ro-
maines , not departinge from them , but
guided them euer, tyl they brought them
vnto the campe of their ennemis.

By this meane was the armye greatly
increased. Yet besidess this , by one other
waye Scipio poltikelye augmented his
host. For whan he sawe no nauy of Car-
thage was on the sea , so that he neded
not to haue any greate noumber of men
in his shippes: He brought his hole nauy
to Tarragon, taking all the souldyours,
whiche were in theym , and also the moxe

parte

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parte of his maryners , with hym in the
warres by lande. With this greate hoste
he went forwardes, and made such spedē
that secretly he came nerevnto the towne
of Betula, where Hasdrubal lay with his
armye. At theyr firste comminge thither,
certayne smal skirmishes were made be-
twene theym. But Hasdrubal, seyng the
Romaines power daylye increased , and
his to be made lesse, thoughte he woldes
leoparde to fight without lenger prolon-
ginge of time. But he determined to seke
a place of strengthe , where he myghte
fight to his aduaantage, and to the more
hurte of his ennemis. Wherefore in the
night he remoued hys armye to an hyghe
hill, vnde adloyning. In the toppe wherc
of there was a fayre large playne : on the
backe side of hys hill , there ran a ryuer,
whiche compassed a good part of the hyl.
Furthermore about the myddes of thys
hyll , was there an other playne fydle,
muche lower than the other playne : vnto
the which nether playne, the ascending
was harde and peinsull. Into this lower
fydle Asdrubal, the day folowyng, sent
a great number of Numidian horsemen,
and other lyght harcised sotemen of Af-
rica,

The warres betwene the
Irica, & of the sles called Baleares, now
named Maiozque and Minorque.

Scipio rydynge about his host, shewyd
them theyr ennemyes. Theyr heartes
(sayeth he) wyll not serue them
fghte with vs on euен ground. Where
fore they seeke oute hyghe mountaynes,
trusynge more to the strengthe of the
place, then to theyr owne strengthe or am-
moun. New Carthage hadde hie walles
whyche neverthelesse was scaled by my-
Romayne souldyours. Neþher coulde
the hyghe hylles, nor the castell therof,
nor yet the Sea wythstande theyr po-
wer, I knowe (sayeth he) that these hys
places, whyche once ennemyes haue cho-
sen, they thinke shall serue them, to fly
from vs, by leavyng and running downe
the stiepenesse thereof. But that wayes
wyll also stoppe from them. Where-
upon incontinent Scipio sent two com-
panies of hys men of warre, comman-
dinge the one to keepe the mouthe of the
valley by which the riuer ranne: and that
the other shoulde abyde secrete ly on the
waye, that laye by the bowynge of the
mountayne, betwene the towne of Be-
cula and the syeldes: And he hym selfe

with

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with a good number of nimble har nessed
men, wente streight towardes these Pu-
midians and Africane, whyche were
on the lower playne of the hylle: who
suffered them to come almoſte vp wyth-
oute let, sauſe onelye of the stiepenesse of
the hylle: vntyll they came wythin the
trastyng of darcies. Then was the
fyghte sore on bothe partyes, but spe-
cyallye greate plentye of stones and o-
ther ingynnes was throwen from the
hylle on the Romaynes. Neverthelesse al-
though the hylle was veris tedpouse and
harder to bee wonne, and they also almost
overwhelmed with stones: yet they be-
yng nimble and well hearted men,
and muche used to the approchynge and
scalyng of walles, ceassed not to goe
lyle uppwarde, tylle the formoste of
theym hadde gotten the plaine and euent
grounde. They anone putte the Pu-
midians to fyghte, and wyth greate
slaughter drove theym vp to theyr army,
that abode in the hygheste parte of the
hylle. Thenne Scipio commaunded
the same hys compayne to goe streyght
uppe after toward the myddell of theyr
ennemyes. The reſte of hys hoste
he

he deuyded in two partes, wherof he cap-
sed Lelius to take the one halfe, and with
them to go aboue on the righte hande of
the hyll, to espie where he myght fynde a
more easye place for them to ascende. He
with the other part kept on the left hand.
And ere euer he hadde set anye farre com-
passe, clamebe vp the sayd mountaine, and
ran on his ennemyes, whose backes then
were towarde him, wherewith the hoste
of the Carthaginenses was soze troubled
and great clamour was made, insorsinge
them to tourne them to resist Scipio and
his company, and to chaunge theyz order
whiche they were in before. In all thys
troublous bryute came Lelius on theym
on the other syde, whose commyng
caused the forewarde to geue backe, for fear
to be inuaded behynde, by meane where-
of, the myddel warde of Scipio got them
the hille, whiche before was not possyble
for them to haue wonne, the armye and
Elephantes kepinge their aray, the plau
was so steepe to ascende. Then began the
Carthagynenses to flee for their sau-
garde, there was greate slaughter made
amonge them that abode, by Scipio and
his company: and of those that fled, man-

wer-

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were receyued by the two compaines,
which were before layd in ambustement
for the same purpose: so that there were
slayne to the number of. viii. M. men.
Hasdruball seinge the beginninge of the
battayle nothyng prosperous after his
intent, sent his money, and manye of his
elephantes away before him, and he felo-
wed after with as manye as coulde sauve
them selues with flyeng: and passing the
riuer of Lagus, went toward the moun-
taines of Pyreneis. Scipio, commyng
to the campe of the Carthaginenses, gaue
all the pray thereof to his soldiours, ex-
cepte the prisoners, which were in num-
bre .x. thousande footemen, and two. M.
horsemen: of whiche nombre, so manye as
were Spaniardes, he lette go at libertee
freely, wþthoute rausone payenge, the
rest he caused to be solde by the Quæstor.
Then gaue he large giftes to the princes
of Spayne, specially to Indibilis he gaue
iii. C. horses, the best he could chuse of all
that were taken, Through whiche his li-
berall distribution, the communes of
Spayne called him kyng: whiche name,
Scipio declared to them that it was very
odious and detestable to the Romaynes.

C. c.

wt her

The warres betwene the
Wherfore he desired theym to absayne
from calling him bi that name. For with
the name of gouernoare or capitayne, he
was well contented.

When the Questor was about to sel the
prisoners by the captaynes commaundement,
among other he founde a goodlye
yong childe of xv. yeares olde, whome he
sente to Scipio, for that he heard of hym
that he was descended of lagnage royall.
Of whom Scipio enquired what he was
and of what countreye, and howe he, be-
inge of no greater age, happened to be in
the campe among men of warre. He an-
swerev, that he was of Numidia, & was
named Massus. His father (he sayd) was
dead. Wherfore his mother sente him to
her father Hala kinge of Numidia, and
from that tymie he had bene broughte up
byth his uncle Massanissa. And whē his
uncle came ouer into Spayne, to the suo-
cour of the Carthaginenses, he came al-
so wþch him. But ever when he went to
any battayle, his uncle woulde not suffer
him to go wþch him. So that before thys
tyme (he sayde) he never came in the field.
And now it was also vnware to his said
uncle, But when euerye man made him
ready

Remaynes and the Carthaginenses. 188
readye, he priuilye also toke an herte and
harneys, and entred the battayle wyth
them. But his chaunce was so euel, that
he had nowe a fall from his horse, wher-
by he was taken of the Remaynes. Scipi-
o demanded of him, whether he were
not desirous to returne to Massanissa.
To whom he aunswered, weepynge for
sore, that he would be very gladde, if hys
chaunce were so good. The Scipio gaue
him a ryng of golde, a cote, a senatours
garnient, a spanysh cloke, a goodly horse
wþt harneysed, and a buckle of golde, and
suffered him to depart to his uncle at his
pleasure, appoyntinge him horsemen to
conducte him on the waye, so farre as he
would haue them.

After these thinges dene, he bestowed
the reste of the summer in receyuing ma-
nye people and cities of Spayne, into the
amitee of the Romaynes, and remayned
at Tarragon.

Sooone after the battayle fought at Be-
tula, the other Asdrubal the sonne of Gil-
gon, and Mago with theyr armes, came
from the further parte of Spayne, to the
helpe of the other Asdruball: but all to
late. For the battayle was passe,

The warres betwene the
before theyz commynge. Wherefore they
consulted what was best to be done. At
the last, considering that Scipio by gifte
and his liberalitee, hadde won ne the har-
tes of the hither partes of Spayne, and
that onely the people of the furthest part
of y countrey towardes the Gages or pil-
lers of Hercules, knewe as yet nothyng
of him, nor of the Romaynes, wherefore
they were sure friendes to the Carthagi-
nenses: they determined, that of necessi-
tye they must remoue all theyz souldiours
of Spayne, eyther to the furthest partes
of Spayne, or els into Fraunce: or els in
shorte space they woulde all turne to the
frendship of the Romaynes.

They also agreed that Asdruball, taking
with him all the Spaniardes ouer of
Spayne, and farre from the name of Sci-
pio, should go ouer the mountaines with
theym towardes Hanniball into Itale,
where the head and chiefe ground of the
warres was.

Furtharmore, that Mago, leauing his
hooste with Asdruball the sonne of Gib-
gon, shuld passe ouer the sea into the Iles
called Baleares, nowe called Maiorque
and mino^{que}, with a greate summe of

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money, where he shold also hyze manye
mo souldiours for theyz helpe in this pur-
pose. After whose departinge. Asdruball
the sonne of Gylgon, wyth all his hoste
was appoynted to depart into Portugal
and that he shold in no wise fyghe with
the Romaynes. Then had Massanissa. iii.
¶ of the best and lightest horses and me-
to be with him: wyth which noumbre he
was assigned to peruse and ride abrode
the countreyes, helping the cities fren-
des of the Carthaginenses, and to spoile
and destroye the townes and fyeldes of
theyz enemies. With these intentes and
mindes, euerye one of the capitaynes de-
parted from other, makinge great spedee
to atchiefe their enterpryse.

¶ Marcellus the Consull is slayne, by an im-
bushement layd by Anniball, Crispinus the
other Consul, and Marcellus sonne be-
soe hurte. Capi. li.

 He same of Scipio daylys en-
creased at Rome. Also Quin.
Fabius Maritimus had gotten
great honoure by winning the
Capi. li. towne

The warres betwene the
towne of Tarente. But Marcellus by
meane of ennemis was runne in greate
infanrie. For it was reported, that Annib
all rouninge abrode in the countrey, he
kepte his hoste in the sunnire season in
the towne of Venusia. Marcellus to
pouge him of this sclauderous name
came to Rome, agaynt the tyme of cha
sing of officers. Thither came also Quin
Fulius Flacchus the consull. There
was the cause of Marcellus openly deba
ted. And C. Bibulus, one of the Tribu
nes, charged him sore, sayenge, that the
negligence of Marcellus, and other such
lyke, was the cause of Annibals so long
abode in Italy. This is (sayd he) the teth
tere, sens he came fyfe into this coun
try he hath liued almost as long in Ita
lie, as he hath done in Carthage. At the
chosing of officers ye willed M. claudius
Marcellus to continue a yeare longer in
his office: and nothe if ye wil knowe the
scrutie that he hath brought forthe thys
yeare, by the meane therof, ye shal under
stante, that he hath his hoste two tymes
beaten and manye of the ym slayne thys
yeare. And in the chyese of sommer, he
hath kepte the residue of his men at Ve
nusia

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nusia, within the sure walles of the same
C To this accusation Marcellus so wise
ly and sobrelly aunswered, shewinge hys
pollicies and his actes done agaynt An
nibal, that his excuse was not onely wel
taken, but also for his well doyng, the
daye folowyng he was, by the hole con
sent of the people chosen consull. And Ti
tus Quintus Crispinus was chosen to
be his felowe. They bothe were appoin
ted to kepe Italye agaynt Annibal.
Marcellus went to his olde armys to Te
nusia, takinge with him diuers other, to
supplye the places of those that were be
fore slayne. Crispinus bringe the honoure
that was growen to Fabius by winnings
of Tarent, thoughte to besyege the citie
of Locrus. Wherefore he sente for all
maner osordinances to Sicilia, wyth ship
pes also to assaulte the same by sea : as
well as by lande. But hearynge of the
coming of Annibal to Lacinium, he leste
his purpose for a season, and ioyned hys
hoste with his felowe Marcellus, who
as then was come frome Venusia, into
the countrey of Apulia, where they both
incamped their armies, thys myies

the

The warres betwene the
the one from the other. Whicher came al-
so Anniball soone after that he perceived
the consull Crispinus had lefte of his be-
sieging of the Locrenses, and in the same
country pitched his campe and tentes.
He had the yere before assayed the power
and heart of Marcellus, sometyme wyth
wynning, sometime with losse of men.
Wherfore fearynge with the power of
both the consulles to be ouermatched, he
then deuyed, holwe with policies and
craft to deceiue them. The consul made
dyuers saymynghes wyth his men, thin-
king with suche trifelinge frapes to passe
forth the sommer, and to kepe him occu-
pied: Yet neuerthelesse, they trusted to be
stronge ynochough also for the besieging of
Locrus. Wherfore they sent to Sicilia,
causinge L. Cincius, wyth his nauy and
army, to come to the besieging of Locrus
by the sea. Furthermore to assayle it also
by lande, they commaunded parte of the
armye, whyche laye for the defence of
Tarent, to be brought thither.
This appoyntment was not so pruydly
done, but that Annibal hadde knowlege
thereof by certayne of the Thurines.
Wherupon agaynste the tyme appoin-

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pointed of theyz cominge, he sente an em-
buschement of two thousande horsemen,
and three thousande foote men, to lye se-
cretlye vnder the hille of Petillia, uppon
the way, whereby the Romaine Taren-
tines shoulde passe. The Romaynes
unaduisedlye passinge by the waye, were
amonge them to their greate hurtes, for
two thousand of them were there slaine,
and one. ¶ and two hundred taken pry-
soners, the rest that escaped, fled by dy-
uers waies backe againe to Taret. The
consulles laye in theyz severall campes,
not farre from the campe of Anniball.
Holwe was there in the myddel waye be-
twene the Romaines campe and hym, a
greate hille, full of woodde, not taken
nor viewed by any of them both. The Ro-
maines feared for to viewe it, for that they
doubted, what maner of grounde the ut-
ermoste parte thereof was toward theyz
ennemys. Neither was it viewed of
Anniball: for that he esteemed the same to
be a place more mete for to deceiue hys
ennemys, than for to pitche thereon hys
campe. Wherfore he in the nighte sente
thither a company of Numidian horsemen
to lie priuile in the middel of the woodde
with,

The warres betwene the
Without mousing or makynge anye noyse
In the daie time, for feare to be espied.
The Romaines euer cryed to their cap-
taynes, that they shoulde take the sayde
hylle, and pycche there, one of theyr
campes, for feare lefft Annibal shuld take
it before theim. Then sayde Marcellus
to his felowe Crispinus, lette vs then,
With a certayne horsemen with vs, go
vieso the same hyll: by the sight wherof,
We maye dispose all thinges accordyng-
ly. Seyng thus agreed, they taking with
them two hundred and .xx. horsemen,
Went both to surueye the sayde hylle and
Wood. Whom yong Marcellus, the con-
suls sonne, and Aulus Manlius beyng
bothe tribunes, folowed. So couetous
Was the mynd of Marcellus to ioyne bat-
tale with Anniball, that he thoughte he
coalde never ioyne hys campe nyghe
inough to the campe of hys ennemye.
Wherfore at his departing he caused his
people to bee in a redynesse: that in case
the place lyked theym, that they myghte
gather vp the besselles, and all theyr
stufle, and folowe theym frome theyr
campes.

The captyaines passed thorough a lit-
tel

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tell playne fytelde, and from thense they
entred into a fayze bryde waye or ry-
dyng, whiche wente vp into the wood-
des. At the toppe of this ridinge, the Hu-
mydians hadde sette an espie to watche,
not thinkinge of anye so greatt a praye
as happed theim to come: but onely to
watche for forrageours or wood cariers,
that shuld happe to roue abrode for vitai-
les, woodde, or suche necessaries.
This espye warned them of the Romain-
nes commyng, and of the noumber, and
gave them a sygne, whan euerye man of
theym shoulde leape oute of hys secrete
denne: whiche he craftilic executed. Fox
be gau i theim not the sygne to issue out,
yll the Romaynes were so farre pas-
sed in theyr waye, that the hindermosse
parte of the embushemente myghte in-
close theim, and stoppe theyr waye be-
hynde theym by that tyme the formost of
the embushemente assayled theim before.
Than on all partes they issued oute, and
layde on the Romaynes. The censurles
seyng theym selues stopped, bothe be-
fore and behyncke, foughte manfullye
theym selues, and comforted theyr fello-
wes, thynge to prolonge the battayle
yll

The warres betwene the
till succours myghte come to theim.
But the other were so fierse, that part of
the Romaines fledde. Neuerthelesse the
rest foughte for a season, till they sawe
Crispinus sore wounded, and his felowe
Marcellus, thrust thorough with a spear
falle deadde to the ground. Then the rest
that were left on lue fledde with Crispin
nus the Consul, who was sore hurt with
two dartes, and yonge Marcellus, being
also sore wounded.

Aulus Manlius was there slaine, with
Marcus Aulius, and foure and fortie o
ther horsemen. Arentus, wyth ffey se
geantes of the consulles, and eightene o
ther horsemen, were taken prisoners.

¶ Anniball craftlye sendeth letters to Sal
via, sealed with Marcellus signet. Aspa
bal passeth the mountaines wyth his ar
mye, to mete hys brother Annibal.

Cap. lii.

Annibal knowinge that grete
feare wold be in the Romaine
hoste, by the death of the on
Consul, and also by the woun
dyng of the other: to put them to further
feare,

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feare, he incontinent remoued hys hoste
into the same hylle, where the battayle
hadde beene before, in the same place he
pitched his campe. There founde he the
bodye of Marcellus, whiche he caused to
be buried. Crispinus beinge sore feared
with the death of his felowe, and also
with his owne woundes: in the nyght fo
lowinge remoued secretly his armie into
the highest and next hil, that for his suer
tee could finde, there pitching his campe
and tentes. Bothe the capitaynes end
ourey them selues, to the uttermost, the
one to deceiue, and the other to eschewe
deceite.

Anniball, with the bodye of Marcellus,
founde also hys ryng, with his sygnet:
wherby he trusted to woorkie deceitfull
conclusions. Crispinus mystrussinge also
the same, sent with wryte wryte to all the
cities of the Romaynes, were adiourning,
warninge theim, that his felowe Marcel
lus was slaine, and that Anniball hadde
gotten his signet. Wherefore he com
maunded theim, in no wyse to gine cre
dence to anye letters that shold be sente
vnto them, sealed with the seale of Mar
cellus, or made in his name. Done after

The warres betwene the
a messenger came to Salapia from An-
nibal, with letters written & sealed in the
name of Marcellus: shewing vnto them,
that the night folowing Marcellus woul-
d certeinly come thither. Wherefore he
commaunded the capitaynes and garris-
son to be redy at hys comming, to knowe
hys further pleasure, what was to be
done. The Salapiens fyndyng estraunge
in the wrytynge, sent backe the messenger
to Annibal with gentyl answeare. And
they the night pefixed, sette sure watche
and warde on the walles speciallye on
that parte of the towne, and at that gate,
where they demed theyr ennemyes woul-
d come. A lyttel before the day came Annib-
all, with a greate compayne wuth hym.
The first compayne that came to the gates
was of Romans, that were departed fro
the countrey, & taken in Iages by Anibal.
They hadde all Romaine armoure, and
when they came to the gate, they spake
laten, as did the Romans, wakyng the
watchemen, and biddyng them to open
the gate to the consul. The watche arose,
and with greate leuers lifte vp the port-
colyes so highe, that men myghte enter
vnder it. Then the sayde bande of Ro-
mayne

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maynes ranawais, entred so fast as they
mighie. But when they were entred, to
the number of. vi. C. of theim, the rope,
whiche dyd holde vp the portcolyes, was
let slipp, and fel downe with greate noyse
making. The Salapiens, with small re-
systence, slewe them that were entred the
towne. For that they mistrusting no such
thinge, bare their haunes hangyng on
theyr shulders, thinkinge to haue entred
with peace. Many of the towne with spea-
res and dartes, chased theyr ennemyes
from the gates and walles.

Thus Annibal, bsyng taken in hys
owne trappe, was deceyued: and from
thense departed, to rase the syge of his
riendes the Locrensis, whome Cincius,
wuth his souldours, and ordynance, that
came from Sicilia, kept verye harde and
stragle.

Mago was in the citie, who hearyng of
the death of Marcellus, tooke some com-
fort vnto him. But when he hearde ty-
dynges, that Annibal had sent his Numi-
dian horsemen before him, and was com-
ming hym selfe after with hys forces, as
spedilye as he myghte, he was then with-
out feare. Wherefore whe he espyed a far-

The warres betwene the
of the Numidians approchynge he saw
sed the gate to be opened , and in arraye
with his folke issued out vpon the Ro
maines. His sodeine comming on them,
more then his strengthe , caused the bat
tayle to endure for a season doubtful.

But when the Numidians were also
come , the Romaynes were so striken
with feare , that withoute order they ran
towarde theyr shippes, leauinge behynde
them all theyr ordynaunce , wherewyth
they had beaten the walles . And by thys
meane was the syge of the Locrensis
raysed.

Crispinus the counsall sente letters to
Rome , bothe of hys felowes death, and
also of his sore hurtes: whiche letted hym
so , that he could not come to Rome to the
chosynge of the counsuls. The senatours
were verye pensyfe , to se two consuls ar
mies destitute of capitaynes. Wherefore
at the daye of the election , they loked a
bout, to finde two wyse and circumspecte
persons for that office , who had bene ac
quainted with the deceites of Anniball.
Fyrst they aboue other lyked C. Claudi
us Nero, whome they knew to be a baly
aunte man, and a good capitaine. But

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they esteemed him to be to quicke for that
syme of the warres , and to matche that
sobre capytayne Annibal. Wherfore
they deuyled to matche his quickenes
wyth a sobre felow of great temperance.

Then was there one M. Lilius , a
man of great sobrenesse, late come again
into the citee, he had before bene consull
about viii. yeares passed, and in his con
sulshippe was condempned by the com
mons without fault: and put out his his
office. Which shame to him done he toke
so displeasauntly, that leauinge the citee,
he wente forth into the countrey, to dwel
out of the company of men. And. viii. yea
res after his condempnation M. Marcel
lus, and M. Valerius Letinus the Con
suls, brought him home agayne into the
citee: but they founde him soule and euell
apparelled, his heare and beard longe, as
a token of his shame receyued. But at
this time the censors caused him to roudie
his heare , and puttynge on other cleane
garments, to come into the senate house
Wher he was broughte thither, and the
sathers were eramined of theyr opinions
of M. Lilius touching the office of Con
sull: They agreed al, both senatours and

D d. i. tha

the commons, that it were a meete couple of him and Clandius Nero. But he alone refused the office, accusing the citizens of theyr vnkinde lightnesse, sayeng, I meruayle much, ye laye nowe the burthe of this office on me, whom ye of late thrust oute of that same offyce, thinking me unworthy thereof. If ye accompte me to be a good and an honest man, why thi did ye condempne me as an euell man, and as an offender? And sines ye judged that I euell gouerned the Consulshippe wherin I last was: why trust ye me now agayne wyth the same roume?

With such words he accused the fathers and also the commons. But the senators rebuked him for his wordes shewing him the craumple of M. Furius Camillus, whiche though he were banyshed the citie of Rome, yet was he after restored againe: For (sayde they) like as the chylde ought to suffer the sharpe punyfementis of his father: so ought euery man to suffer the punyfement of hys countrey, with pacience and gentenesse. With these wordes they appeased him, and caused him to take on him the sayd office.

The one consall was appoynted to kepe

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warre agaynst Anniball in Italye, leasse he shoulde djaue here to Hasdruball, cominge from the mountaynes to his succoure: The other was assygned to meeke Asdruball: the name of whom was, that he beganne to approche the mountaynes to thintent to come ouer, to sayne his power with his brother Anniball. The opinion of Anniball did also much helpe the Romayns in this purpose. For although he knewe, that his brother woulde that sommer passe the mountaynes, to come ouer to him: yet when he remembred the mansolde lettes that he had him selfe, as in passing the riuier of Rhedanus, and then the daungerous mountaynes, syryng both with men and perillous places, wherin he had spent five monethes, he loked not for so spedie and quicke coming of his brother, which caused him to be so long, ere ever he remoued from the place where he wintered with his armee. But in this he was much deceyued. For Asdruball had better spedie in his passage then he loked for him selfe. For the frachmen, & also the mountanois did not only receive him, & suffered him with his ar-

The warres betwene the
emy to passe theyr countreyes : but also
they solowed him to the warres, leading
him many sure wayes, whiche to Anniball
his brother, were then vnable to be
passed. Agayne, the wayes ouer the moun-
taines, by the continuall vse of gonyng
ouer them, were made much more easre
then they were, and the people more gen-
tle to intreate. For before Annibals cum-
minge, they were not vsed to the compa-
nye of straungers, neyther had sene anye
before in the countreye. Wherefore they
wer wild & sauage people. They thought
also at the fyrt time, that the Carthagi-
nenses had come to take their castells and
cattell from them. But nowe the same of
the warre holden in Itallye, betwene the
Romaines & the Carthaginenses, taught
them, and made them to knowe, that the
hole contentio betwene those noble heyl
cities of the worlde, beyng so farre di-
stant a sundre, was onelye for the the ho-
nourc and for ryches: so that they woold
trye, whether of them should possede the
dominion of the hole.

These causes knownen, made the moun-
taines open and easre for Asdrubal to
passe : but his spedde was not so good in
passing

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passing the same, as his let was great in
the besyginge of Placentia. When he
was come ouer, he had thought the citye
beinge in a fayre playne countrey, had
bene easye to winne : and by the same of
the winning thereof, he thought al other
cities adiopning, shold haue trebled for
feare. But the strenght thereof much de-
ceyued him, and that knelc Annibal ful
well. For when he came ouer the ryuer
Tebria, he in baine had assayled the
strenghtz thereof. So that Asdrubals assy-
ginge of Placentia, was not onelye a
lette of his owne tourney : but also it stay-
ed Anniball much longer: after he heard
thereof, ere euer he set forth of the place,
where he wintred with his hoste.
The Consuls with theyr armes wente
to theyr prouinces M. Lilius towardes
Placentia, whom ers he departed Quin.
Fabius warned and exhortid, that he
should not ouer hastelye syght lyth his
ennemis, before he knewe the maners
and condicions of them. To whom Lilius
remayning yet in displeasure toward
his citzens for his banishment, aunswere-
red: that he would syghte with theym, so
soone as he myght haue sight of them.
When the cause was demanded of him

The Warres betwene the

Why he would make therin such hast:
 Truly (sayde he) eyther I wyl quickeley
 haue great honoure, by subduynge myne
 enemis, or els great ioye, by the slaynge
 of mine owne vniende citezens. Whiche
 ioye although it be to me not honest: yet
 shall it be according to theyz deseruinges.
 Quintus Cladius Nero made halle,
 til he approched nere vnto Annibal: who
 as then was gone into the countrey of
 the Lucanes, and laye by the tolone of
 Grument. Cladius hadde in his armie
 fortye thousand foote men, and two thow-
 sande and ffe hundred horsemen: Anniball
 gatheryng together as much power
 as he coulde amoung the Brutians, and
 from such fortresses as he than helde: lay-
 incamped nygh vnto the walles of Grum-
 ment: and within halfe a mile of the was
 the campe of the Romaynes. Betwene
 both the capes there was a godly plain
 valeye, having on y one syde fayre plaine
 hilles, wythout anye wooddes or couerte,
 so to hide anye embusshemente, or can-
 deceyte. Therfore it was the leste sub-
 perte to bothe parties. These hilles lay
 adiwynge to the leste syde of the Car-

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thaginenses, and to the ryghte syde of
 the Romaynes. In the playne medowe
 were many lyghte skyrmishes made be-
 tweene the hostes, and manie excursions
 the Romayne consill caused to be made
 onelye to kepe his ennemys there from
 going toward Asdruball.

On the other syde Anniball, desyrous to
 remoue out of that place with all his po-
 wer, intended to gene him battayle.

Wherfore he put his whole hoste in
 arraye. Cladius Nero, perceyunge his
 intent, caused secretelye the nyghte fol-
 lowynge, Titus Assellus, and P. Cladius
 two tribunes, wyth a good numbre of
 men wyth them, to passe ouer the sayde
 hill adiwynge, and to abyde in the va-
 ley behinde the hilles, appoynting them
 a tyme, whan they shold descend frome
 the mountayne on the backe of theyz en-
 nemys. He hym selfe in the breake of
 the daye, wyth the reste of his foote men
 and horsemen came into the feld in good
 arraye. Anniball lykewyse commaunded
 his men to arme theym, and great noyse
 was made in the campe, every man run-
 nyng to harneys.

and

And when they were armed, they ranne
out of the campe gates, botbe horsemen
and footemen, wþþout arraye before An-
niball had knoweledge thereof. And as
soone as they were oute of the campe in
the playne, they ranne to theyr ennemis
syghting both on horsebacke and on foote
as chaunce gaue them to meeete wþþ
theyr ennemis, kepyng none order.
¶ When the consull sawe them thus run-
ninge abrode in the fyelde without order
he commaunded C. Arunculeus, wþþ
the horsemen of a legion, to inuade the
Carthaginenses with as muche violence
as he myght: wherby he myght slea them
being without order like beastes, besy
they could be brought in arraye. ¶ Whiche
he dyd diligently execute, makyng great
slaughter. The battayle was strunge for
a season, by reason of continuall resort of
freshe souldiours running to the succour
of theyr felowes:

Annibal bayng yet in his campe hearing
the noysse of his men fighting, came forth
with the rest of his power, & so diligently
applied him selfe: that even as hys men
were syghtyng, he putte manye of
them in arraye.

¶ Whiche thynges
hath

hath not been lyghtlye scene, and therein
he shewyd hym selfe to be an expert cap-
tayne, havinge olde and wel aquaynted
warryours vnder hym. And thus had he
þrought his whole hoste in order, as they
were styl fightinge: had not C. Assellus,
with his bandes of Romaynes, sodaine-
lie descended from the hilles, at the backe
of the Carthaginenses, wþþ greate cla-
mour: By the meanes whereof, they be-
inge aserd lest they shuld be stopped from
their campe, began to flee on all partes.
The horsemen slew many of them in the
chase: and many mo had been slayne, had
not the campe been so nere at hande. Yet
lost Annibal of his men at that battayle
viii. xx. whyche were slayne, and. viii. C.
taken aliuie. The nexte daye, and dyuers
daies after, the Romaines in arraye kept
the fylde, desyrous to fight, but the Car-
thaginenses abode styl in theyr tentes.

Sone after in the night, Annibal, with
his armis, remoued towardes Apulia,
makinge greate syres before the camps,
towardes the Romaines, and leauyng in
the entree of his campe, certayne Pumi-
dians horsemen for a shewe, tyll he wþþ
his host myght be farre gones from his en-
nemis.

The warres betwene the
emperors. Whan it was daye lyghte, the
saide Numidians helued them selues in
the gate of the campe for a season, pur-
posely to deceiue the Romaines: and whi-
they sawe theyz tyme, they spedilige ro-
after theyz company.

Than the consulle, hearinge no nyght
in the tentes of his ennemys, sente thynge
ight horsemen to viewe theyz campe, who
findinge it voyde of theyz ennemys, re-
tourned to Claudius, certifiyng hym of
theyz departryng. Wherupon he with his
hoste went thither, and take the spoyles
suche baggage as was there lefte: and
on the morowe earlye folowed the Car-
thaginenses, by the same that they heare
of their waye, by which they were gone.
Anniball, no more wyllyng to syghte,
toke hys waye ever in the nyght, and ouer
the mountaynes, till he came to Metapontus: wherc he toke of Hanno, the sol-
dioures, which were there lefte, and to-
ned them to his armys, sendyng hym
with a smalle number wyth hym, into
the countrey of the Brutians, thereto
to assemble mo men of warre to
hys succoure.

Romaynes and the Cartthaginensis. 206
¶ Of the greate battayle betwene Asdrubal
and the consulles, in whiche Asdruball was
slayne, with six and fifty thousand men,
beside many that were taken, with
a great spoyle. Cap. liii.

Asdruball, leausinge his further
assieginge of Placentia, sente
frenchemen, and two Numidi-
ans to his brother Anibal with
letters, who passing al Italy, hering that
Anniball shoulde then be at Metapontus,
folowed hym thither: But ere they
were ware, they loste their waye, and
raine to the syelds of Tarent, where they
were taken, and sente to Claudius pero
with their letters. Who whan he hadde
redd theim, and knewe by the contentes
thereof, that Asdruball intended to mete
his brother in Umbria, thinkyng the to
be no tyme mete for the common welth,
to tarye the determinacion of the senate:
he Imagyned, that he woulde enterpryse
some straunge thing, whereby he shoulde
put bothe the cizzens of Rome, and also
his enemys in great feare. But at length,
wher it was achieved, it shuld turne the
whole

The warres betwene the
ennemys. Whan it was daye lyghte, the
saide Numidians helued them selues in
the gate of the campe for a season, pur-
posely to deceiue the Romaines: and wha
they sawe theyr tyme, they spedilye red
after theyr company.

Whan the consulle, hearinge no noyse
in the tentes of his ennemys, sente two
light horsemen to view theyr campe, who
findinge it voyde of theyr ennemys, re-
tourned to Claudius, certifiyng hym of
theyr departyng. Wherupon he with his
hoste went thither, and toke the spoyle of
suche baggage as was there leste: and
on the morowe earlye folowed the Car-
thaginenses, by the same that they heard
of their waye, by which they were gone.
Anniball, no more wyllynge to syghte,
toke hys way euer in the nyght, and ouer
the mountaynes, till he came to Met-
pontus: where he toke of Hanno, the sol-
diours, which were there leste, and too-
ned them to his armys, sendyng hym
with a smalle number wyth hym, into
the countrey of the Brutians, thereto
to assemble mo men of warre to
hys succoure.

Romaynes and the Cartaginensis. 206
¶ Of the grcate battayle betwene Asdrubal
and the consulles, in whiche Asdruball was
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some straunge thing, whereby he shoulde
put bothe the cizezens of Rome, and also
his enemys in great feare. But at length,
wher it was achieued, it shuld turne the
whole

The warres betwene the
whole citie from greate feare into m-
tallous gladnesse. Wherefore he sente the
sayde letters to Rome, wyth other his
owne letters of hys intended enterpryse.
And incontinent sent messangers besy-
m, to all the townes and countreis, by
whiche he with his armye shoulde passe,
commaundyng them to bryng forth into
the fieldes against his coming, bityles,
horses, and other necessaries for his sol-
diuers. Than of hys whole armye he
chose out. vi. thousand footemen, and om
viii. horsemen: sayinge and publyshinge
that with them he intended to assault the
certe towne of the Lucans, and to take
the Carthaginenses, whiche were theri
leste for the kepinge thereof. With this
companye in the myghte he departed, ma-
kyng as great haste as he myghte in his
journey, to come to the healpe of his fel-
lowe Lensus, before he shoulde haue to do
with Asoruball: leauyng Quintus La-
tus in hys campe, to rulz and gouerne
the rest of his hoste. At Rome the consu-
les letters made all men no lesse aserde,
than they were two yeres past, whan the
Carthaginenses had pitched theyr tentes
besyde the walles of Rome.

Remaynes and the Carthaginensis. 207
They doubted, whether they myghte al-
lowe or disallowe that bolde enterpryse
of the consul, whiche did appere to hange
all upon chaunce. They knew the campe
was lefte verie nere to Anniball, with an
armye dyspurayed of a capitaine: ye and
the flowre and strength of the same armye
was taken awaie with the Cappyayne,
leauyng hys campe sure in nothyng,
but onely by the ignorance of hys enne-
mies, who were not prouise as then of the
consulles absence. But what yf it hap-
ped to bee knownen, and that it chaunced
Anniball with hys whole armye, to fo-
llowe Nero, hauyng wyth hym but. vi.
thousande footemen armed, and vni. v.
horsemen: or that he wold assaile the rest,
which were lefte in the campe, wythoute
strengthe or good gouernance. The euyl
chances, whiche they had before susteined
in the warres, with the late death of. ii.
consuls in one yere, increased theyr feare,
whyche all had happed to theim, whan
there was but one cappyayne and one ar-
mye of their ennemys in Italye. Nowe
they knewe. i. myghty armies. ii. valiant
cappyaines, ye almoste. ii. Anniballes, to
be in the countrey. For Asoruball the
sonne

The warres betwene the
sonne also of Amilcar , hadde many
veres in Spaine, made warre against the
Romans, where he had hadde two noble
victoires , sleynge two greate armes,
and also. iij. Scipions , the noble capitai-
nes of the same . Furthermore , that he
micht glory aboue Anniball, both of his
spedy passage ouer the mountaynes, and
also of dra wynghe with hym the frenche-
men to batayle . Soz euuen where the one
had almoste losse the greater parte of his
men by hunger and cold (whiche two be
the greatest myseryes of warre) : euuen
there had the other gathered together a
great puissance . They reckened also, that
Claudius Nero shuld haue to do w^t a wit-
ty:capitaine, whom he knewe before had
mocked and illuded him in Spaine lyke a
child, w^t deceitful intretting of condicions
of peace: whereby he escaped oute of the
strautes, wherin he was indaungered.
Thus through feare (whyche is thiner-
pretour of all thinges to the worse) they
estemed the powre of theyz ennemis to
be great, and their owne to be smal.

In the meane time Nero the consul, af-
ter he hadde so farre trauayled frome the
daunger of his ennemis, that he judged

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis . 202
he myght safely discouer his secrete enter-
prise: he then called together hys souldy-
ours, and spake vnto them saying.

There was never any enterprise taken
in hand by any capitaine, whiche was in
apparence more bolde, and in effect more
sure then this was. For I wil now bring
you(sayde he) to a certaine and sure victo-
rye . Soz we goe to a battayle , for the
whiche my felowe Lelius had before as
mange footemen and horsemen appoynted
hym of the senate, as he wolde desire.
Pe suche a number as he wolde not haue
desyred a greater, if he shoulde haue bene
appointed to fight with Anibal him selfe:
and now, by the same of the comming of
the other consul, with his armie, beyng
soyned to the other : We shall not fayle
to haue an vndoubted victorye. For same
is the thinge that geneth victorye in bat-
tayle. Pe small things oft times draine the
herthes and myndes of men, eyther in to
feare or into a good hope. And the hole
glorye and honoure of all the good speede
shalbe geuen to vs. For ever that, whiche
cometh last, draweth al the honour to it.
With this comfort he led them forwarde
on theyz waye , passing by a greate mul-
titude

The warres betwene the
estate of men and women of the countrey
that came forth to mete them with great
fauour and praise geuinge: naming them
the patrons and defendours of the com-
mon welthe, and of the whole emperre of
Rome, in whose hands then lay the helth
welth and lybertee, bothe of theim and of
their children. Therfore they prayed vnto
the gods for theyr prosperous retourne
with victory and triumphe. And in decla-
ringe theyr loue towardes theyr souldy-
ours, they offered theim cattel, bytayles,
and other necessary thynges, whych they
hertely desyred them to take at their plea-
sure. And they on the other side, thank-
fully receiuyng that they needed, went on
theyr way, eatyng whan they were hun-
gry, and but seldome toke anye rest, till
they came nere to the campe of the other
consull. M. Liusus. Then sent Claudius
messangers to his selowe, aduertysynge
 hym of hys comyng, to knowe his mind,
 whether it were best for him and his com-
pany, to come to hym pryslye or openly,
 in the nyghte tyme or in the daye: and
whether he shold enter into hys campe,
 or make an other campe for hym selfe and
his army: Liusus answered, that best it
was,

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 203
was, he entered into his camps secrefelic.
in the night. For the moze suerty where-
of, he gaue a priuye watche woorde oalton-
ken, whereby one tribune shold receyue
an other, one centurio or hundredonre an
other, one horseman an other, and one
sooteman shold receyue an other. And it
was thought, y there was space ryough
in the fyft campe, to receive him and his
companye, sens thos that came with
Claudijs Nero brought litle moze with
them, but onely theyr armur, for the spe-
diness of theyr way. Liusus tentes wers
then pytched nere to Hena, and Asdruball
rested not past halfe a myle thence.
When Nero approched, he couered hynt
with mountaynes and hilles, till it was
nyghte. Then keping great silence, they
entered the campe of Liusus, and were e-
uerie man brought into the tentes by his
like officer, wher they were friendly and
gentilly receyued, wyth great toyse & glad-
nesse. L. Portius the pretor had his camp
soyning to the campe of the consull.
The day folowing they counsayled what
was best then to be done. Some gave ad-
vise, that Nero wyth his companye, be-
inge weareye, shold rest theym certayne
days

The warres betwene the
titude of men and women of the countrey
that came forth to mete them with great
faouour and praise geuinge: naming them
the patrons and defendours of the com-
mon welthe, and of the whole emprise of
Rome, in whose hands then lay the helth
welth and lybertee, bothe of theim and of
their children. Wherefore they prayed vnto
the gods soz theyz prosperous retourne
with victory and triumphe. And in decla-
ringe theyz loue towardes theyz souldy-
ours, they offered theim cattel, bytayles,
and other necessary thynges, whiche they
hertely desyred them to take at their plea-
sure. And they on the other side, thanke-
fully receyuyng that they neded, went on
theyz way, eatyng whan they were hun-
gry, and but seldome toke anye rest, tyll
they came nere to the campe of the other
consull. M. Liusus. Then sent Claudius
messangers to his selowe, aduertysynge
him of hys coming, to knowe his mind,
whether it were best soz him and his com-
pany, to come to hym prystlye or openly,
in the nyghte tymis or in the daye: and
whether he shold enter into hys campe,
or make an other campe soz hym selfe and
his armie: Liusus answered, that best it
was,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenes. 203
Was, he entered into his camps secretelie,
in the night. For the more suerty where-
of, he gaue a priuye watche wozde oþto-
ken, wherby one tribune shold receyue
an other, one centurio or hundredonre au-
ther, one horseman an other, and one
footeman shold receyue an other. And it
was thought, þ there was space enough
in the fyft campe, to receive him and his
companye, sense thos that came with
Claudius Pero brought litle more with
them, but onely theyz armur, for the spe-
diness of theyz way. Liusus tentes were
then pitched nere to Siena, and Asdrubal
rested not past halfe a myle thence.
When Pero approched, he couered hym
with mountaynes and hilles, till it was
nyghte. Then keping great silence, they
entred the campe of Liusus, and were e-
verye man brought into the tentes by his
like officer, wher they were friendly and
gentilly receyued, wyth great ioye & glad-
nesse. L. Portius the pretor had his camp
soyning to the campe of the consull.
The day folowing they counsaled what
was best then to be done. Some gaue ad-
uise, that Pero wyth his companye, be-
inge weareye, shold restte theym certayne
days.

The bōxres betwene the
dayes, & that the battayle shold be differ-
ed tyl they were fully refreshed of their
longe trauaile: & in the meane time to
knowe the maner of theyz enemies. But
Hēro would in no wyls agree thereto, he
instantly desyred thē so to worke, that his
secrete enterpryse: whiche by his swyste
comyng thyther was made sure, shoude
not by their longe tarienge be made sou-
lyshe and voyde. For Anniball being de-
ceiued, kepereth him close in his tentes not
knowing of my comynge hyther, nor of
the vnsure leauing of mins armye in my
campe: but this deceypte can not longe be
hyd. With spede making Asdruball and
his hoste may be ouerthowen, er euer I
departe: and then may I with like spedē
re tourne to my compayne into Apulia.
But who so by prolonginge of the tyme,
gyuech space to his ennemis, he causeth
my campe in Apulia, to be deliuere to
Anniball, and openeth the wape for him
to come hither to be ioyned to his brother
Asdruball at his pleasure. Wherfore in-
continent let vs go to battayle: and ther-
by both our ennemys that be absent in
apulia, and also those that be here pre-
sent at hande, shalbe deceyued: the other
by

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 204
by thinkyng our noumbrē there to be no
lesse then it was, and these by thinkyng
your numbře to be nothing increased.
After these earnest woordes of Claudius,
they departed from the counsayle, and e-
very man armes him selfe, and were put
in good order of battayle. The Cartagin-
nenses also were alreadye come out of
theyz campe, and stode in array readye to
syght, & both the armies had without ta-
ryeng gone together, had not Asdruball
so a season caused his compayne to staye
He with certaine other horsemen in his
companye rode before his hoste: were he
perceyued amonges the Romaynes to be
manye olde shieldes, whiche he had not
sene before. Also he marked many carrie
and ouer laboured horses. He thought al-
so the numbře of his enemies was grea-
ter then it was wont to be. Wherfore ha-
ving a mistrust of þ, which indeed was
true, he blewe the retreate. And inconti-
nent sente certayne of his men to the ry-
uer where þ Romaine horses were wa-
shed to espie & mark whether any of their
horses were discoloured by dallyng myth
myre of the way, or with duste, whereby
they might appere to be of late iournied

The warres betwene the

He also caused some other to ride a farre
of about theyr campes, to se, whether the
trenche that enuironed the campe, were
enlarged any whyt or not. Furthermore
to marke whether the trumpet did sound
ones or two times within the campe of
the Romaynes. Spothynge deceyued hym
se muche, as when woyde was broughte
hym, that the campes were nothinge en-
larged: but that there were but twayne
as was before, one of L. Catus consull, the
other of L. Portius: and neyther of them
altered otherwise then they syest were.
Neuerthelesse it troubled him sore, besyng
a wyse man and muche vsed to warres
with the Romaynes, when it was shew-
ed him, that the trumpette blewe but
ones in the pretors campe: but in the o-
ther it blewe two times: wherefore he
sugged surely, that both the consuls were
there. Whereupon he beganne to muse,
howe the other Consull should be depar-
ted from his brother Anniball. He could
not devise the thinge as it was, that his
brother was so illuded by the departyng
of the capitaine from his campe, whiche
was not farre of, with part of his power.
He iudged, y he had susteined some great
losse;

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losse: whereby he durst not folowe the cō-
sul. Wherefore he feared greatly, lest whē
al was lost before, he was come to late to
his brother with succours. He also mis-
trusted, y his letters never came to An-
niballes handes, but that they, wyth hys
messangers, were taken vp by the waye:
upon the sight whereof the oþer consull
was come with hast to vanquyhe hym
also. Being in this great perplexite, he
caused all the fiers to be put out, & euerys
man to trusse vp his stiffe and baggage,
& in the beginning of the nighte, he with
his hole host departed sccretely, following
two guides. Who had not far gone with
them, but partly for feare, and partly be-
inge troubled with the rumour of the ar-
mye, tooke no good heede to their waye:
wherefore they secretly slipped away, lea-
ving the without a guide. Some wande-
red abrode in the fieldes, some being wea-
ry & overmatched, laid thē downe to slepe
and to rest them, leauing their standers
When the day appered, Asdrubal caused
his standers to go before the host along
the side of the riuier of Metaurus, seekyng
for fordes where he myght passe ouer: but
the further he went vp the riuier, the hies
C. iii. the

The warres betwene the
were the bankes. Thus wandering syll
after the crokes & tourninges of the bâke
seking a place of passage: he spent a great
parte of the daye in waste, whereby the
Romaynes had gotten time and space to
solowe them. First Nero with his horse
men overtoke thê: sonne after came Luchi
us Portius with his ligt harneised me.
They slewen manye of Asdruballes folke,
that abode behinde in the feldes to rest
them. Asdrubal seing no remedy to escape
sought for some hil by þ river syde wher
on he might lodge his hoste. By þ tyme
was Liuius also come with al his power
of footemen armed & in good array. Then
soyninge theyz companies together they
put euerye man in order. Claudius Nero
ledde the ryght winge, Liuius kepte the
leste wyng, Portius the pretoz came in
the middel warde.

Whan Asdruball sawe no remedy, but
that he muste needes syghte, he leste the
fortifyng of his campe, and put his peo
ple in arraye. In the foreronte he set his
Elephantes: about them on the left hand
agaynt Claudius Nero the consul, he
set his frenchmen: not so that he trusted
to theym muche him selfe, but because he
thought

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thought his enemis feared them most.
The ryght winge he kept him selfe with
his Spanyardes, his olde men of warre,
in whiche his most trust was. The Ligu
riens, men of a countrey of Italye, were
set in the middel behynde the elephantes
There was a greate hyll betwene the
frenchmen and Cladius Nero: so that
he by no meanes with his hoste, myghte
com to fight with them. Therfore they
goode stell a good space wythout douninge
of any thyng. But betwene Asdrubali
and Liuius syerce and mortall was the
syght. There were the great noumber of
Romayne footemen agaynt the multi
tude of spanyardes his expert warriours
and also agaynt the Liguriens, whiche
were very strong and valiaunt men.
The elephantes also dydde at the syghte
much displeasure. Cladius seynge that
he could not haue to do wyth the french
men, tourned aboute his compayne, and
setchinge a compasse came on the other
side of Asdrubals armee. Then were
the Spanyardes and the liguriens slaine
on all partyes, and the syghte was als
eady come to the frenchmen who were
able

able to make smal resistance: for many of their company were shronken away and feble for labour, & ouerwatching, as they they be a people that can not well abyde with paine. Manye of theym were there slaine. Many also of the elephantes were slayne by the Romaines, but mo by their owne rulars that rode vpon them. So after they were ones striken and assaied the beastes were so vnruley, and dyd so muche hurte to their owne Carthaginenses hoste: that they, owne kepers and ryders slewe them.

Also Zruball, like a full noble capitayne, handeled him selfe in that battayle, some tyme fighting valiantly in his owne persone, sometime exhorting his men manfullye to syghte sometyme he desyred hys weary souldours to take some payne for him, and for their owne lues, sometyme he rebuked they, sluggishenes. And if any began to flee, he anone brought them backe to the battaile, and restored againe the fielde, whiche in divers places was slaked. At the last, whē he sawe no helpe but that without remedy he must lose the fielde, not mindyng to liue after so great a slaughter, of his men and sryenedes

des, whyche soz hys sake vndertoke that voyage: he ranne his horse with the spures into the myddel of the Romaine host, where to declare the noble valoure of hys stomacke, of whome he was descended, lyke the sonne of Amilcar, and brother to Annibal, he valyantlye foughte, and fightinge was slayne. Greate was the slaughter of the Carthaginenses in that battayle: so that it was thought equall to the Romaynes losse at Cannas, as well for the noumber of men slayne, as for the losse of the capitaynes. There was of Asdruballes hoste in this battayle slayne sixtyn thousande men, and there were v. thousande and foure hundred taken pypsoners. The praye at the spoyle was greate, both of golde and syluer, and also of the Romaine pypsoners, whiche besyze Asdrubal had taken. Of whyche Romaine pypsoners, there were founde aboue. lliii. The Romaines losse in this battayle almoste. viii. men. On the morowe woarde was brought to Lilius, that those frenchemen and Licures, whiche were lefte on liue at the battaile the day before, were now assembled together againe, and went away without any capitaine

The warres betwene the
p̄taine oʒ keþin g good order, so that they
m̄ight sone be al statue, if he wolde sende
but one wyng of horsemē to pursue them.
þot so sayde Liriūs, we will suffer some
of oure ennemis to escape, whyche shall
remayne and be messangers , both of the
distruction of oure ennemys, and also of
our noble honour and prouesse.

Claudius Nero, the night after the bat-
tale foughтен, departed with his compa-
ny agayne toward his owne campe, ma-
king so muche haste in his retourne, that
the sict day folowing he was come to his
owne campe, and to the frontiers of hys
ennemy Anniball . he made suche spedē,
that no messenger was come thither be-
fore hym, whiche had brought any newes
of the victoře . Wherefore his personall
comminge, with the sodeine declaracyon
of theyr good spedē , caused so greate ioy
and gladnes in the Romayne armie , as
thoughe an heauenlye conforte had bene
sent them after an extreme doloure.
At Rome also, whā newes were brought
of their prosperus successe, suche ioy was
made , as can not well be exprested.
For after Claudius departinge towarde
his felowe, from the sonne risinge to the

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sonne setting, the senators never depar-
ted from the senate house : neither wente
the citzens out of the market place. The
matrones of the cytce were in continu-
all prayers: so that with theyr clamoure,
p̄ulgremages, and bowes , their goddes
were all weryed. But whan the certain-
tee of the victoře , the greate occasyon of
theyr ennemys, with the death of the Ca-
pytayne, was broughte them by the le-
gates of the consulles : theyr suspended
hope was sodainelye turned into a per-
fecte ioy, whiche passed measure. Then
began the marchauntes to bye, to sell, to
pay, to receiue, and to make all maner of
contractes, as they were wonte to doe in
time of peace.

Claudius the consulle, retourninge
from the battale, brought with hym the
heade of Hasdruball : whyche at hys
synte comyng , he caused to be throwen
before the entree of Anniballes campe.
He also caused the Africaneſ , whi-
che he hadde taken p̄soners in the bat-
tale, bounden as they were, to bee sette
before hys campe : to the entente hys
ennemys myghte see them . And so: the
more encrease of Anniballes sorowe,

The wortes betwene the

He losed two of his sayde Africane prisone
rs, commandinge them to bee to
Annibal, and to declare unto hym, the o
der of all thynges as they hadde bee
doone in the battaile, wherewith he was
so striken with sorrow, both for the losse of
so greate nownber of men of his brothers
armie, as also for the losse of hys friendes
and familiars, that he sayd, he knew full
well, what shoulde be the fortune and fa
tall chaunce of Carthage within shorte
space. Whereupon he remoued into the
fieldes of the Brutians. And so that he
had no power leste hym of men, to defend
his fortresses, that yet helpe being so far
of: he gathered togither all the Metapont
tanes and the Lucanes, such as were his
friendes: and broughte them all into the
countrey of the Brutians, where he re
mained for a season, counsaylyng what
were best for him to doe.

¶ Scipio in dyuers battayles discomfitteth the
Carthaginenses, taketh Hanno on liue, dys
iecth Asdrubal and Mago, with al their
power, cleane out of Spayne.

Cap. lxxii.

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¶ Spaine betwene the Ro
maines and the Carthagi
nenses thus was the coun
try deuyded. Asdrubal, the
sonne of Gylgon, was dys
uen with hys company in
to the uttermost parte of Spayne, and to
the yles called the Gades. The rest of the
country eastwardes, was vnder the do
minion of the Romanes, euenesse it were
verye fewe cities, whiche were kepte by
the Africane: to whose succours Hanno
a new capitaine was sente from Africa,
with a new armie, in stede of Asdruball,
that was slayne. This Hanno hadde also
byred a great nownber of men of warre in
Celtiberia. With this great hoste he toy
ned to Mago. Agaynst whome Scipio
sent. M. C. Sillenus, with r. & footemen,
and v. C. horsemen. And he passyng the
hie hilles, and manifold daungerous pas
sages and crastes of Spaine, made such
spede, that by the guiding of certaine run
aways of Celtiberia he came within ten
myles of his enemies, before anye know
ledge was had, or anye fame was bputed
of his comming. There he stode for a sea
son, till he had by the saide runaways es
piced

The warres betwene the
espyes knowledges, that his enemys
were lodged in ii. campes: the Celtiberi-
ens on the left hand of the hie waye, and
were to the number of ix. M. souldours
the Carthaginenses were on the ryghte
hande. Sillanus syze assayled the
Celtiberiens: who by the meanes of
go, were soone put in order. The bat-
tayle endured sc̄re for a season: and some-
what the longer, by meanes of resorte
of the Carthaginenses, whiche came
frome the other campe to the healpe of
the Celtibergens. At the lasse Magose-
inge hys partie like to bee putte to the
worste, wþt two thousande sootemen,
and the wholle power of horsemen,
that were lefte on lyue, fled vnto the Ga-
des, and came to Hasorubal.

Hanno, the other capteyne, was taken
on lyue: with many other noble prisoners

Soone after the battayle with Hanno,
Cornelius Scipio departed to Tarragona
leauyng in that countrey. L. Scipio
his brother, with ten thousande sootemen,
and one thousande horsemen, who after
his brothers departing with this power,
assaulted the towne of Dringin: not with-
out peine. For they scarselye were suffer-

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red to put their scaling ladders to the wal-
les: so greate was the violence of the dar-
tes and other ingins, whiche were thow-
ne at the. And so soone as any were raised
by ther vnto, and men theron, strivynge to
ascend: anone they were eyther thrown
downe, men and all by the souldours of
the towne, hauinge sorke made for that
purpose, or els they were in ioperdye to
be drawn vp ladders men and al, by rea-
son of iron hokes that were throwen vp
pon the ladders, taking such sure hold on
them, that the climbers were oftentimes
pulled vp farre frome the grounde, and
hanged longe by the roundes of the lad-
ders. Thus continued the assault verry long,
and was verye spers and daungerous on
borthe partes. Then had Scipio deuided
his host in thre partes, to the intente one
parte shuld cuer assault the towne, whille
the other rested. Therfore he commaun-
ded those, whiche were at the syze as-
saulte, to withdrawe to their tentes, and
rest them: & incontinente with other two
partes of his freshe souldours, he gaue
a new assault on two parts of the towne
so that the defendours, beyng very with-
the long susteyning the syze assaulte.

and

The warres betwene the
and also sore affrayde, as desperate, lea-
ving the walles, withdraw them; wher-
upon the towne was wonne, and greate
domeyn made of people of all kyndes and
ages.

Whan't soinges of this noble act was
broughte to. P. Scipio the capitayne, he
greatly praysed his brother, doyng to him
as much honour as he myght. And after
sent hym to Rome, to beare newes to the
senate of theyr spedē, wylth hym also he
sent Hanno the capitayne of the Cartha-
ginenses, and dyuers other noble prynce-
liers, that were before by them taken.

Asdrubal the sonne of Gylgon: and Ma-
go the sonne of Amilcar, desyrouse to re-
dressē theyr harmes, and to recouer theyr
losses, desyrouse to redressē theyr harmes
losses, gathered together of theyr riends
in Spaine, and of hyred souldiours, an
huge armye, to thenumber of. i. M. foote
men, and. iiiii. M. v. C. horsemen: and
came to the towne of Sipia, where in
the plains syeldes they pitched their
campes.

P. Scipio, heryng of theyr great army,
assembled all his men lykewyle: and to
be more able to encountre with his ene-
mies,

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miles, he sente Hllanus to Colchas, the
kinge and ruler ouer. xviii. cittes and
townes: of whom he had. iii. M. footmen
and. v. C. horsemen. He had in his army
when he came to Betula, xlvi. M. of horse-
men and footemen. Certayne dayes af-
ter theyr metting there were skirmyses
and lustes betwene the horsemen and
the lyght footemen of both the armys.
At the laste they both descended into the
syeldes with all theyr powers in good or-
der of battayle. The middel warres kept
the Romaynes on the one syde, and the
Carthaginenses and the Africaneis on
the other syde: the synges of both the par-
ties were of spanteis and hyred souldi-
ours. Thus stode they readye to do bat-
tayle, till it was nyght, byt boute syche
striking: & euē so they did certayne dayes
solowyng: So that ouer it was dyuted in
both armys, that the middle warres
should be kill of the Romaynes and Car-
thaginenses, where the greatest strength
was, and where that most noble and ex-
pert men of warre were: betwene whiche
also rested the cause and chiese ground of
the warre. Scipio bringe aduersylyed that
his enemies trusted and beleued that this

The warres betwene the
Order shold be kepte still in the battayle:
agaynt the daye, wherein he thought to
fyght, he chaunged al his order. First in
the euening before, he commaunded all
his horsemen, before the dawning of the
day to eate some meate, and then to be ar-
med, and eucrye one of them to haue his
horse also made ready for the battayle.
Whiche his commaundemente they di-
gently acoplished. Then Scipio so soone
as the day appered, caused al his horsemen
with light armour, to inuade the station
or campe of the Carthaginenses: and he
with the rest of his hole hoste folowed in
good arraye, but other wise ordered, then
either his enemies or his owne company
looked for. For he put his Romaines in
the winges, and in the middle he put all
straungers & hired souldours. Asdrubal,
bearing the great noyse of the Romayne
horsemen, with the sodaine rumour and
fear of his owne men, ranne out of hys
tente. And when he perceyued all the fel-
des garnished in th his enemys, he sent
forth anone his horsemen against the Ro-
maine horsemen: and soone after he hym
selfe with all his footemen came forth of
his campe keping the same order that he
had

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 212
had done certayne dayes before, without
chaunging any parte thereof. The bat-
taile betwene the horsemen endured long,
but whe the host of scotemen were with-
in a mile together: scipio caused his horse
men to withdrawe them selues, whent
he deuided then in two parts, and caused
to stande behinde the two winges, to be
ever ready for theyr ayde and succoure.
Polwe was his middell warden mosse of
Spaniardes: whom he commaunded to
marche forwards, not fast, but a soft pace
Then sent he a messenger to Sillanus,
& Martius, who gouerned the left wing,
charging them to make sped for wardes
on theyr partes, in like maner as they
saw him do, with the right wing, which
he led hym selfe, so y the winges myghte
be fyghting a good space before the mid-
dell wardes shoulde mete. In this order
they wente for wardes, spreadinge theyr
wynges, and makinge a great bosomy in
the middel of their hoste. For the Span-
iardes in the middel werte at much softer
pace then the winges: wherby the winges
were alreadye come to strookes and
fought a long space, before that the Atri-
canes and Carthaginenses (in whos reſted

The warres betwene the
the great strength of theyr enemies) were
come to any strok striking. Agayne, to
bende to any part of the winges to helpe
theyr felowes that fought, they durst not
least they shoulde open theyr battayle to
theyr ennemis whyche came directlie
upon them. By this meanes the winges
were anone overcome, and driven into
the middel warde: and no meruayle. For
the yonge and the hired souldoures of
Spayne, were matched with the stronge
and olde warriours of the Romaynes,
and the latines. Agayne, Asdrubals men
were so sodainely taken in the moyninge
that they had no tyme to receyue anye su-
stenauice before the battayle. Where-
fore whan the day was somwhat spente,
they wared saynt and feble. And so that
intent Scipio purposely tracted and pro-
longed the tyme, before the middell war-
des shuld meeete: to the ende the heate of
the sonne towards the middel of the day,
with thelong standng in harness, & lack
of meate and drinke, shoulde take from
the bothe their strengthe & courage. Thus
they being wearye and assayled both be-
fore with the middel warde, and also on
the sides with the Romaine winges,
were

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were constrainyd to recule. Whych they
did a great while, keping still good order
in theyr withdrawing: for Asdrubal con-
tinually cried to them, and thereto exhort-
ed them sayeng: If they woulde by a litel
and litell withdrawe them, they shoulde
get the mountaines, which were at their
backes: and then they shoulde be sure oute
of the daunger of theyr ennemis. But
at the laste, seinge them selues overcome
and so many of theyr compayne slaine on
allpartes: their feare ouercame shame.
Wherfore with great slaughter they fled
to theyr campe. The Romaynes pursued
them fast, and had taken theyr camp and
tentes, hadde not a veheniente storme of
rayne sodainely come upon them, wyth
such violence, that euerye man was glad
to gette him to his owne tente and Pa-
villion.

The Carthaginenses although the
nyght drewe fast on thē, beyng very sore
wounded and wet with the rayne (wher-
by they had necessarye occasions of slepe
& rest) yet were they so asrayed, that they
caused not stil to strengthen & to fortifye
theyr campe with ditches and stones whi-
che they gathered in all partes aboue
F. 1. ill. them

The warres betwene the
the: frusting moze to the strength therof
then to their armour. Then many of the
hyzed souldours of the hoste of the Car-
thaginenses leste Asdruball, and came to
Scipio. Divers strong townes also were
deliuered vp to him: wyth all the garris-
sons, whch were left in the. Wherfore
Asdruball thinkinge him selfe more sure
by fleing then by his abidinge, secretelie
departed from thens in the nyght.

Scipio in the morninge being aduer-
sed of the departing of his enemies, sente
his horsemen before: and he hym selfe with
his armye sodaynely folowed them: The
horsemen at lengthe ouertoke them, and
made so many skirmishes with the, that
therby they were stayed till theyre hole ar-
mee of footemen ouertoke them. Then
was there great occision made of theym
wyth smal resistance. And Asdrubal with
vii. M. men with him, was fayne to flee
to the nexte hye mountayne , where they
encamped the selues, and were safe from
anye daunger or hart that coulde be done
them. Sone after he slipped from thens,
and stalle to the sea, whiche was not farre
of: wher he toke shippynge him selfe, with
Mago and a fewe with him, and went to

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the iles beyonde the furthest parte of
Spayne called Gades, leauing the nolice
parte of his menne behinde hym at theyre
owne aduenture, to prouide for them sel-
ues. Parte of them went to the Romanes
parte to such cities as were then remay-
ninge in the dominion of the Carthage-
nenses.

Scipio, after the drivynge away of Asdrub-
ball and his compayne, willing utterlye
to expeil all the Carthaginenses oute of
Spayne, laide syge to Zillurgus: which
after long trauail he wan with force, and
caused his men to sie all that euer they
found on lyue, man, woman, and chylde.
And after they set the towne on syre, and
threw downe the walles to the earthe,
that the place whch had bene the chiese
receptacle of theyr ennemis, myghte be
clearelye defaced , and the memorie ther-
of abolysched for cuer. Frō thens he went
toward Castulo wyth his armie.

The capytayne therref searynge the cru-
eltee of the Romaynes, yeldid the towne
to theym, wyth the Carthaginenses also
that were therein. Ascpa also a stronge
towne was won by Martius & broughte
in subiection , wyth all other townes,

cityes,

The warres betwene the
citties and fortresses that the Carthagin-
nenses before helde. Thus were they
clerely expelled out of Spayne, the viii.
yeare after the warres fyfte began, and
the. v. yere after that Scipio was appoin-
ted by the senate to be capitayne of the
armye, and was assygned to warre in
Spayne as his prouince.

M. Liuius, and C. Nero the consalles ente
the citye of Rome in triumphe. I prayse
of Anniballes gouernyng his
army. Ca. iv.

Dwe let vs retourne to Mar-
cus Liuius the Consull, that
after the great victorye had by
him and his felowe Claudio[n]s
Nero, against the other olde Asdrubal, in
the frontiers of Italye, as is before decla-
red. He sent M. Fabius Maxi. to Rome
to the senatours, aduertising the, that he
thought the armie which L. Porcius the
pictor had there, was sufficient yngough
for the kepyng of that prouince: So that
(if they thought it best) he and his armie
michte well be spared there. To whom
the Senatours aunswered, that they
willed

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wylded hym to come hym selfe to Rome
with his army, and that Claudio[n]s Nero
his felowe shoulde also mete him the same
time at Rome, leauynge hys hoste wyth
good capitaines to kepe the countrey still
against Annibal.

Upon this decree of the senate the con-
sulles wrote letters eyther to other, and
agreed, that lyke as they had wyth one
good wyl and minde gouerned and defen-
ded the cuntrey, durynge the tyme of theyr
offic[e]: euen so now they shuld both at one
time come into the cittee of Rome, although
they came from dyners partes. Where-
fore it was agreed, that whosoever of the
came firsste to the cittee of Prenest, shoulde
there tary the comming of hys felowe.
Accordyng to the appoinctemente, thers
they mette bothe in one daye: and frome
thense they sente messangers to the cittee,
desyryng the senatours to mete them in
the house of Bellona the goddes of war,
the third day folowing. There were they
receiued with a great multitude bothe of
senatours and of citezens wyth goodlye sa-
lutations and greate thankes for theyr
politike gouernance of their roumes: by
whose helpe and dexterite the common
welth

The warres betwene the
Welth was nobly preserued & aduanced.
Sone after they were brought into the se-
nate: there accordinge to the olde custome
of conquerours, they declared ther2 noble
actes, whiche they hadde achieved for the
common welth of the citee of Rome: and
for the same desyred, synte that honoure
micht be giuen to the immortall goddes:
and then that they might wth triumphe
enter the citee. Which theyr request was
graunted them. As touchinge the maner
of theyr entryng in triuyphe, it was ap-
pointed, that they shuld not come in sev-
ralle but together, as they vanquished
their enemies together. They agreed also
betwene them selues, that bycause þ victo-
ry was had in the prouince of M. Livi-
us. & also because Licius armes were come
to Rome w^t him, where Nero hys hoste
ould in no wisse be brought thither, ther-
fore shoulde Licius ride in a charyot, and
his soldiours in order to folow hym: Ne-
ro shuld ryde by hym on horsebacke with-
out any of his soldiours to folowe hym.
Claudius was contented to gyue the ho-
nor to his felaw: by which his gentilnes
be wau much the more honoure & prayse.
For euerye man sayde of hym, that he on
horse-

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horsebacke in. vi. daies had ridden þ length
of all Itaile, & had fought with Asdrubal
in the borders of Fraunce, what time An-
nibal iudged him to be in Apulia. So that
his onely name was able to kepe Annis-
bal lurking in his campe, and his onelye
comming was the cause of the victory a-
gainst Asdrubal. wherfore (sayd they) ride
the one cōsul never so high in his chariot,
yet the other cōsul, that rode but on horse-
backe, was worthy of the very triumph.
þe although Nero dyd go but on his fote
yet was he worthy of glory and fame per-
petuall. With these prayses they folowed
Nero into the capitol or palacie in rome
Whare they presented muche money of
theyr gayne, and that was put into the
treasory. On the morrow both the consuls
and also the horsemen, praised muche. L.
Acturius, and . M. Cecilius, desyring
that they myght, for þ nexte were folowing
be chosen consuls. Whiche at the nexte
election was done, and bothe the appoin-
ted with. ii. consuls armes, to kepe war
agaynst Anniball. After all thynges
were pette in good order, they depar-
ted from the citee, & wente into the coun-
try of the Lucanes, and in hōste tyme
they

The warres betwene the
they had broughte all that countrey into
Subiection. With Annibal there was lit-
tel done. For he offered not hym selfe to
gyue battayle, he was so dyscouraged
With the losse of his brother, his frendes
and his scoldiours. On the other parte,
the consulles thoughte it not besse to p-
uoke him to battayle: sens they founde in
him no currynge. So muche they feared
and esteemed the valoure of that noble ca-
pitayne: to whome this prayse is gynen,
that no man could iudge in him, whether
he were more to be commended in tyme
of prosperitee, or in time of aduersytee.
For who woulde not wonder to see, that
he maynteyned the warre so farre from
his countrey by the ful space of thynteene
yeares, in the lande of his ennemys, ha-
uyng his armie not of his owne citee or
countrey, but gathered together of many
nacions, which lyued not vnder one ma-
nier of lawe, neither hadde one custome or
language, but minche differente in appa-
rayle, armoure, customes, ceremonies, ye
they had all severall goddes. Yet dyd he
so gouerne them all, and knitte them to-
gether all in suche amytee, that no man
coulds iudge or know of anye dysencyon
betwene

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betwene theym, or insurrection agaynst
theyr capytaines, although diverse times
he lacked to paye them theyr wages, and
also vitayles for theyr sustenaunce: by the
lacke whereof, in other warres much in-
conuenyence hath enselwed. Againe after
the death of Asdrubal, and his armie, in
whome was all his trusse, whan all Ita-
lye was taken from hym, save onelye the
countrey or corner of the Brutians: who
would not wonder to see no rebellion am-
ongell his owne men? Consyderynge
that vytayles hadde they not, but onelye
from that lyttell angle of the Brutians,
whych ys it hadde bene wholly tilled and
sowed, hadde not bene able to susteyne so
greate an armie. Neuerthelesse, a greate
parte thereof was vntilled, part for feare
of the Romaynes, and theyr friendes,
partely for that the most part of the yong
men of the countrey were taken to the
warres, whych were before vsnte to tylle
and manure the grounde for husbandrye.
These thinges (I say) conserred together
it wil make al men to muse how he could
so quietly gouerne his great hoste, and to
prayse greatly his wyse conduct therin.

Sciptio

The warres betwene the
¶ Scipio and Asdrubal arriu both in one day
in Africa, and be lodged both togither in the
pallays of kyng Syphax.

Cap.lvi.

After the departing of P. Scipio to Tarragon, the Carthaginenses being driven out of Spaine, Massanissa, seynge the great fal of his frenedes the Carthaginenses, secretelyc had communicacion with Hllanus, and was wonne to be a sure frende to the Romaynes. Whereupon to have hys frenedes in Africa the most obedient and redy to him in all his necessities, he appointed to saile ouer into his countrey, there to make hym selfe as stronge as myght be, for the ayde and succour of the Romaynes whan nede required. And Hllanus soone after retourned to Scipio to Tarragon.

Than .P. Scipio, willinge to certisye the senate of his great victory and happy chaunces, sente his brother L. Scipio to Rome, as is before rehersed, who ledde with hym manye noble men prysoners, whom he hadde before taken in the warres; wherupon he was muchaylously honoured

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noured and praysed of all men. Yet he alone, that had deserved all the sayde honoure, esteemed all hys feates done in Spaine, to be nothinge in comparsen of those thynges whych he had conceyued in his mynde. He loked for the conqueste of great Cartilage and Africa, as the ende of hys warre, and the consumacyon of hys honoure and gloze. Wherefore, to worke in time all things, that afterwarde should serue for his purpose, he determined to winne unto hym the hertes of prynces, whiche were borderars vnto that countrey. And syr he mynded to attempt kyng Syphar.

This Syphar was kyng of a people in Africa, called Gaseuli, adioynynge to the Moores, and lyng on the other syde of the sea Mediterrane, ouer agaynstie neare Cartilage in Spaine, who at that tyme was a great frende to the Carthaginenses. To hym he sent C. Lelius, with a goodly present: wherewith the king was very gladde and well pleased. And considerynge in hys mynde the good fortune, which the Romans had in al partes, and leyng the power of hys olde frendes the Carthaginenses to bee so greate-
lys

The warres betwene the
lye decayed, that in Italy they had nowe
lytell to doe , and in Spayne nothyng:
He agreed with Lelius to become a fren
to the Romaines. But he sayde, he wolde
no further procede to the confirmation of
the amistee betwene them, tyll he myghte
personally speake with Scipio, the chiese
capitaine of the Romaines. Wherupon
Lelius takyng assurance of hym, so
the false goynge and commyng of his ca
pitaine, retourned to Scipio , and decla
red vnto hym, howe he had spedde , as is
before declared. Scipio iudgyng his fren
shippe to be a great helpe & furtherance
to hys purpose , touchynge hys desyrous
affayres in Affrica , bothe for hys greate
strenghthe and rychesse , and also for that
his countrey was adioynynge to Car
thage, directly ouer agaynst Spaine, lea
nyng Lucius Martius at Tarragon, and
Sillanus at newe Carthage, wyth a po
wer sufficiente for the defence of Spayne
he wyth Lelius in two galeys or rowbar
ges of syue oozes a piece, passed ouer into
Affrica.

Nowe it happened, that euuen the same
tyme Asdrubal, who of late had bene dy
uen oute of Spayne: was newlye arrived

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in the same hauen, with s.uen galeys, &
easing theyr ankers, dwelle as neere the
sho: as they could. Asdrubal, perceiving
the other two galeys or rowbarges of sei
plos, comming towards the same hauen
knewe ful wel they were the vesselles of
his ennemis. Wherfore not doubtyng
but that they beinge so se we in number,
myghte easelye be oppressed and vanqu
shed before they shold get the hauen, he
commaunded his folkes to lyeve vp the
ankers, and to make them ready to sett
forth wyth all sped. But the other, ha
ving good wynde to theyr furtherance,
entred the hauen before the galeys of As
druball myght get oute, suche ruffelynge
noyse and litell shyte was made by hys
men. Wherfore when the Romaines
hadde ones gotten the kynges hauen, no
man durste be so bolde to meddle wyth
them.

Thus went the two capitaines on land
first Asdruball, and then Scipio with Le
lius, and both went to the kinges palace
whose comming did vnto Siphar greate
honour. For it was never before seene,
that the gouernours of the ii. most noble
kyngoyres, that were in those dayes in
G. all

The warres betwene the
the wold, came euer to his palace vpon
one daye to desyre his amittie and peace.
The king right gentilly receyued them
bothe, and sens their chaunces were to
mete both at one time in his house: he did
what he myghte, to bringe them both to
communication, trusstinge thereby to ap-
pease al stryfe and discorde for anye mat-
ter, that had bene betwene them. But
that Scipio refused to do, affirmyng, that
there was no pryuate matter of displea-
sure betwene hym and Asdruball, whch
by communication or hearinge of freyn-
des, needed to be determined. Neþher
was there any thing touchinge the com-
mon wealth of his countreye wherein he
myghte trauayle or intreate, onlesse it
were by speciall auctoritee or comman-
dement of the whole senate. Then the
kyng made great instance to Scipio,
seyng he were bothe his guesstes at
ones, that he would be contented to be so
ordered, that he myght not haue cause to
erpell any of them both from his table.
Scipio, at the kynges requeste, was not
onelye contented to syte wyth Asdrubal
at one table, but also, for the kinges plea-
sure, he laye in the same bedde that he

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dyd.

For Scipio was naturally of such dexter-
itee, and so conformable to reason, that
thereby he not onely wanne the hearte of
Syphar: but also he broughte his mooste
mortall enemys Asdrubal in more admira-
tion of him, after he had seene his con-
uersation, than euer he did before, for a
ny acte that ever he dyd. Whereupon he
beganne than to conjecture and to iudge
that Syphar, wyth all his myghte was
become friende to the Romaynes. Suche
pollicie he deemed Scipio to haue in win-
ninge the heartes of men. And then he
beganne to deuyse, that it was necessary
for the Carthaginenses, to consulte a-
monge theym selues, not howe Spayne
was losse, and myghte be recovered: but
rather howe they myghte kepe theye do-
minion in Africa. Specially he was wo-
rd thus to be in doubt, for that he iud-
ged, that so great a capitaine of the Ro-
maines, would not leaue the countreye,
that he lateleye hadde conquered, to wan-
der abrode in a straunge dominion, onely
with two galeys, leauinge behinde hym
bis greate power, and committinge hym
vnto the daunger of an unknownen kings
bus

The warres betwene the
of an unknowen kinge: but onelye vpon
some truse that he had thereby to winne
Affriac. Scipio concluding a peace and
amitee with the king departed from him
leauinge Asdruball wrapped in many-
foldes troubles. And within four dayes
after, susseyninge manie stormes on the
seas, he arriuued in safegard at newe Car-
thage.

C Massanissa speaketh secrectely wyth Scipio,
and entreth in leage wyth the Romaynes.

Mago sayleth into Italpe, to ioyne
wyth Anniball. Cap. lvi.

It is before declared, howe
Hannanus had secrete com-
munication with Massanis-
sa, and had won him to be
fryende to the Romaynes:
but the conclusion of this communicati-
on was deferred, till Massanissa, myghte
speake wyth Scipio personallye, for the
more sure and saythefull assuraunce of
theyr alliaunce. Whiche caused P. Scipio
to enterprise that long paynesful tour-
nere, to come nere to the sea side to mete
hem. Of whose aproaching Massanissa, be-
inge in the yle called the Gades, was ad-
vertised



Romaynes and the Cartaginensis: 15
vertised by L. Martius: He sayned to Ma-
go, that his horses were loste and spytle,
so that they were so longe kepte within
the yle, withoutit any exercist: and his me-
also were empayzed through idlenes, not
puttinge them selues in ure to do anye
seates of armes. Furthermore, he sayde,
theyr longe lyenge in that lande caused
death and scarsitye of all thynges.
Wherfore he desired licencē of him that he
micht with his horsemen passe ouer into
Spayne, there to spople and walke the
country nere to the sea syde.
By this perswassion he obteyned lycence,
and came ouer into Spayne. At his sygne
arruayle, he sent threē noble men of Pu-
midia, to Scipio, of the whiche he wylled
him to receyue with hem two, as pledges.
And to sende agayne the thyrd of them,
to acertayne him of the tyme and place of
theyr metting by whose conduct he micht
be brought to the place appoynted. Whe-
the daye camie, they met together, wyth
a smal number in their company: where
Massanissa, at the syrst sight, althoough be
fore he had a great admiration of Scipio
through the noble name of his actes: yet
vpon the syghte of hym and his presence,

he had him in much more veneration.
For besides that of nature he was indeede
bord with goodly & large stature: wherin
he shewed a maruaillous maiestie: yet the
same was set forth the more by reason of
his goodlye longe heare, and hys comlye
apparell after a manly and warrelskefas-
cion. He was also of a midddel age at his
ful strengthe, and was become so beauti-
ful after a sickenes, of which he was late
recovered: that his lusty youth seemed re-
newed: wherby he was more pleasaunte
to beholde. At theyz first meting, Massa-
nissa halleastonised, gave him humble
thankes for his goodnesse shewed, in sen-
ding home his brothers sonne: whom he
before had as paysoner. From whyche
time (he sayde) he ceassed not to seke occa-
sion of his frendship & amitie, for the which
nowe that he hadde obtained it, he gave
thankes to the goddes. Truylng that he
would so apply him selfe in his assayres
the Romaynes causes, that theyz com-
mon wealth was never more aduaunced
by one man, being a straunger unto the
wel byche his hearty benevolence & good
will that he bare to them, he could never
before (although he woulde) haue shewed

to hym and to theym in Spayne, beyng
to him a straunge & an unknowen cas-
trey. But in case y Romaynes wold send
Scipio as theyz capitayne into Affrica,
where he was bred and broughte vp, he
doubted not, there to do them such hie ser-
vice, that the honour of Carthage should
no long while endure.

Scipio gladly beheld him, and also heard
him: knowinge surelye, that he was the
chiefe of all the horsemen in the armee of
his ennemis, and a lusty yong man, of a
noble heart and courage. Therfore after
they hadde entreated of their busines, ge-
ving fayth the one to the other, of fayth-
full loue and amitye, they departed: Scipio
to Carraco, and Massanissa to the pte
of Gades. But because it might appare
to Mago, that he had done some feate in
Spayne: Scipio suffered him to spoile cer-
tain goddes & groundes on the sea cost,
and to take the pray with him.

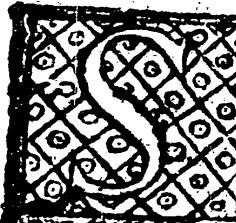
Mago beyng desperate of any good spede
to be hadde in Spayne, was in minde to
sayle into Affrica, when sodaynelye let-
ters came to hym from Carthage, com-
maunding him with his nauy of shippes
that he had at the Gades, that he should
sayle

The warres betwene the
sayle ouer into Italy. Ther heyringe as
muche people as he myght, of Frenchmen
and Liguriens, he shoulde with all sped
toyn him selfe with Anniball. And so
that purpose greate summes of money
were sent him from Carthage. Bysydes
that he leuied and exacted as muche mo
ney as he could of the Gaditanes compel
ling every man to bring in his money.
Bysydes this he spoyled the temples.
With al this his riches he arriuued at the
 Isle of Minoque, where he gathered toge
ther. ii. M. yong men, whom in the begin
ning of summer he tooke with him, and
sayled ouer into Italye with .xxx. greate
shippes of warre, & manye other shippes
loden with prouision. He had in his host
at that time. xii. M. footmen, and two. M
horsemen. With this numbre he sodain
ly arriuued at Geene, which town he tooke
with small resistance, being vnprouided
of men of warre. From thense he sayled
alonge the costes of Liguria, nerke to the
mountaines called alpes, and hearynge
that a people of that countrey, called In
galoni, held warre with certaine mount
ainoys called Epanterii: he landed there
& making a leage or amitee with the In
galones,

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galones, he graunted them to inuade the
mountainoys wyth certayne of hys peo
ple. The rest he sente to Carthage, to de
fend the costes of the sea there. For it was
bruted abrode, that Scipio was mynded
tolande his nauy in Affrica.
He hadde no longe season taried there,
but his armye syll encreased. For the
frenchemen daylye resorted unto him, be
ring the same and glori of his name. Of
his arriuale in Liguria aboute Geene,
Sp. Lucretius sente letters to Rome to
the senate, aduertisyng them, that wheres
Asdruball was about. ii. yeres past slayn
with his armye in the frontiers of Italy,
to the greate comeforte of the citee, that
greate ioye was but in bayne, and passed
like a shadolu, onlesse they prouyded now
spedye remedye. For a newe armye was
come with Mago from Carthage, to be
gynne a new warre lyke the other, onely
the capitaine therof was changed. These
newes moued muche the senatours.
Wherfore they sent letters to. M. Luius
then proconsul, commaundynge hym to
byng his hoste from Veturia to Armie
nius. Cn. Herilius, the pretour had also
commaundement, to byng thither from
Rome

The warres betwene the
Rome two new legions. Thus laye both
the hostes of the Romayns, & the armys
of the Carthaginenses. with theyz friendes
the one not farre from the other , a longe
season, without any thinge dognge moy
thy of memorie.

¶ Scipio saylith into Itaile, commeth to
Rome, and is crete one of the consals,
he desireth to haue licence, to sayle into
Affrica with an army, Cap. lviij.

 One after the departyng of
Mago from the ile of Gades,
the Gaditanes yelded them
selues to the Romaynes. ¶
Scipio committinge the rule
and gouernaunce of his army to L. Len-
tulus, & L. Manlius, taking with hym x.
shippes, with men sufficient, wente hym
selfe to rome. Against whose comminge
the counsayle satte wythoute the citie in
the house of Bellona . There he sober-
ly declared to the senatours , what thin-
ges he hadde done in Spayne : Howe of-
ten he had fought with baners displayed
against his ennemys : howe manye cy-
ties he had taken from them by strength:
What people he hadde brought into they
obeysaunce: he shewed also that he hadde
fought

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 224
foughte with. iiii. sundrye capitaynes no-
ble men, and vanquished theim and their
armies, which besoze were never vanqui-
shed: so that now there was no Carthagi-
nenses left in spaine. But for al his noble
actes , he was not admittid to enter the
cittie with triumph, because he had never
borne office in the citye. After the cosayle
arose, he entred the cittie, where he presen-
ted and broughte into the tresore greates
plenty of money and riches of hys gaines
and praiers. Soone after the tyme came of
chosynge of counsuls, at whiche day. P.
Cornelius Scipio was chosen consul, and
P. Licinius Crassus his fellowe for that
yere. Great was the resorte that came to
behold Scipio whersoever he went. The
commons had conceyued in their mindes
an opinion of hym, that he was the man,
appointed by the Goddes to fynyshe the
warres in Italy, as he hadde before deliv-
ered Spayne from the Carthaginenses.
Whiche warres in Italy ended, they ap-
pointed in theyz owne vertes , and also
they spake it openly, that he shold have
Affrica, appointed as his prouince. ¶ When
the prouynces were allotted, he was ap-
pointed to Sicilia, and L. Crassus to the
Buitians

The warres betwene the
Brittans against Annibal. The same
monge the commons ranne scyll, that
Scipio shuld haue Africa to his prouince
And he euer desyrous of great glory, said
that he was not onely chosen Consull, to
maintayne the warre, but to fynysche am
to make an ende thereof. Whiche in no
wyse myght be achseued, onles, he might
passee with his army into Africa. Whiche
his desyre in case the senatours wold not
graunt, he wold referrre it to the voix of
the commons.

An oracion made by. Q. Fabius Marimus, dñe
Swadynge Scipio from hys desyred tourney
into Africa, and wylling him to mayn-
taine the warres against Annib
al in Italy. Cap.lix.



If this purpose of Scipio the
senatours consulted together
and ame ng other, they desy-
red. Q. Fabius Marimus to
declare hys opinion. He aun-
swered, making an oracion in maner and
fourme folowyng.
I am well assured, fathers conscripte,
that if I dissent and agree not to this han-
gys

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 225
The passage in Africa, two thynges wyl
be iudged and spoken of mee. One is a
slownes or a slacke tractinge of my mat-
ter, which naturally is geuen me, and
that yong men cal fearefulnes or slouth.
And it greueth me lyttell, though they
haue such opinion in me, sens other mens
councils heretofore haue appeered glo-
ryous at the fyre face: but at lengthe my
counsayle hath euer proued best and most
for the common welth. The second thing
is, that I should for evyl wyl goe about to
hynder the glory of this valyaunt consul,
that daylye groweth & encreaseth. From
whiche suspicion is neyther my facyon of
lyuing and maners, nor the office of Di-
ctature. Whiche I haue borne, nor the
roume of a consul, whiche I haue syue ty-
mes enjoyed: neyther the greate glorie,
that I haue wonne bothe in the tyme of
peace and warre, wyl delyuer and purge
me: let myne age at the leaste delyuer me
there fro. For what indifferent contenci-
on can be betwene mee and hym that in
peres may not maiche my sonne? Whan
I was dictature, the mayster of the hor-
ses laboured so to the senate, that he was
made equall wyth me in auctorites and
rule:

The warres betwene the
rule: whiche thinge never was seene be-
fore. Yet never manne herde me, eyther
privily or openly refuse they: order ther-
in. For I had leauer to get by my deedes
than by my woordes , that he whiche
was by other mennes iudgement com-
pared wyth mee , shoulde shortelye after
by bys owne confessyon geue me the pre-
fermente. Muche lesse now, whan I have
so ofte borne these honourable offices,
dooe I intende to sygne wyth this slow-
ryshyng younge manne . I letted
Hannibal of his victory, to the intente he
myghte nowe be vanquished of you that
be lustye and stonge . Reason wold,
Pub. Cornelius, that ye shoulde be conten-
ted (sence I dydde never sette moxe by
myne owne fame and honor, or the fame
of the people , than I dyd by the common
welthe) although I doe not nowe preserue
your honoure and landes before the com-
mon welthe . Neuertheles in case there
were no war in Italy, or els such an en-
emie, by whose vanquishing small honour
were to be gotten than he that wold kepe
the in Itale (althoughe the commone
welthe were therby somewhat auanced)
myghte seeme to goe aboute to take the
gloze

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 226
gloze from the. But sene Annibal is our
ennemye, who bathe with his hoste these
illi. yeres vexed Italy, shouldest thou. P
Cornelyus , thynke the to lose honour,
ys by thy powesse , beyng consult, thou
canste expelle and dygue hym oute of this
country , who hathe been the cause of so
many of our mens slaughter, and of ours
so great destruction: Therby as Lucta-
tus bare away the honourable title of fi-
niyshinge the first warre with the Carta-
ginenses : even so nowe thou mayest ob-
taine the prayse of finiyinge this warre.
Onelesse thou doest thinke, that Amilcas
than capitayne , was to be preferred be-
fore Hannibal: or that war before this: or
that victorye to be moxe noble and glory-
ous, than this shall be to the , if it be thy
chance (being consul) to overcome: Thin-
kest thou it more honor, to deliuer Spaine
from oure ennemis, than to deliuer Ita-
lie: Hannibal is no suche man, but that
whosoever wyll chose to warre in an o-
ther place , muste bee reckened rather to
scare him, than to dispise him. Make the
redy therfore, and thinke not to fetche a
compasse aboute the bushe, to goe before
into Africa, to the intentente Hannibal shoulde

The warres betwene the

Should solvwe the: but go the nerke waye
to worke, and wheresoever Anniball be,
thyther dyrecte thy water. Nature giueth
that man should fyoste defende his owne
country, or he innade or assaile an other
lande. Let there fyoste be peace in Italye,
besoyle there be warre in Africa. And let
feare be the fyrt expelled from vs, or it be
dryuen upon other.

If thou canste by thy gouernaunce doe
both, fyrt ouercome Anniball here: and
then after assayle Carthage. Dure trea-
sourye is not able to finde. it. greatte ar-
myes: one here, and an other in Africa.
And if it were sufficente to fynde. p. Li-
cinius one hoste in Italye, and. p. Scipio
an other also in Africa: what if it shold
chaunce (as God for bid, yet suche happes
haue happed and maye doe agayne) that
Hanniball dyd ouercome Licinius, and
were commyng towardes Rome: Right
we call the from Africa, as we dyd call
Quintus Fulvius from Capua to ours
succours: ye, and in Africa also the for-
tune of warre is doubtfull and varyable.
Let thine owne house or famly be to the
a warnyng. Were not thy father & thine
uncle slayne, wyth theyr hoosles, and all
within

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 227
Within thirtye dayes space: Yet had they
before amonge straunge nations, bothe
by sea and by lande, gotten greate re-
nowne to the citie of Rome and all theyr
posteritee. The daye woulde sayle me,
or I made an enve, if I shoulde reken vp
the names of kynges and capitaynes,
whyche rashely haue innaded the landes
of theyr ennemys, to the vicer vndoinge
of them and theyr armes. The Athen-
enes, leauinge warre at home, sente a
noble yonge man capitayne, with an
huge nauye into Sicilia, where beynge
ouerthowen in one battayle, they hadde
such losse, that theyr common welth was
cleane subuerted for euer. Thys out-
warde eraumpyle is to aunciente. Let the
same Africa, and the losse of our owne
comfille P. Attilius, there taken by the
Cartagynenses and theyr frendes, bee
to vs a document. In comparyson of Af-
rica, Publius Scipio, the countreyes of
Spayne be but a playe or a game. The
states of them be nothinge like. So, at
thy passing into Spaine thou diddest sail
by the costes of Italye and Fraunce, and
dyddest arryue wyth thy nauye in the ci-
tie of our frendes.

The warres betwene the

Wher settinge thy men on lande, thou
by sure wayes were conueyed to Tarrac-
on, the syendes also of the Romaynes.
From Tarragon, thou camest to the ry-
uer of Iberus, where thou foundest that
noble capitaine L. Martins, and many
fierce Romaine souldiours, leste of the ar-
mies of thy father and thine uncle. And
sone after newe Carthage was wonne;
because none of the ii. hostes of the Car-
thaginenses, came to the succour and de-
fence of the citie & theyz fellowes. These
thinges I can not so greatlye praise: but
touching the warres in Africa, they shal
be founde unlike. For there shalte thou
fynde no hauen open for oure armye, and
nauye, no grounde peable, no clype of
oure frende Syphar, no kyng our frende.
Also no place meete for vs, eyther to abyde vpon, or to go forwardes on.

Wherfore wheresoever thou loke, thou
shalt se all full of thine ennemys.

Whyle thou beleue Syphar and the Pa-
midians: Let it suffysse the, that thou did-
dest ones beleue him. Foolishe hardynesse
doth never prosper: Deceyce doth so order
it selfe in small thinges, that sayth maye
be geuen to it: to the intent in great thin-
ges,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 228

ges it maye deceyue with great aduaun-
tage. Thys fater and uncle were not op-
pressed by the armour of theyz ennemys
til they were first deceyued by their owne
felowes and false friendes the Celtiberi-
ens. Pea thy selfe wers never in so great
scandale through Gago and Asdrubal ca-
pitayns of thine enemies, as y wer in by
Indibilis & Padonius, princes of spaine:
whome thou diddest take to be thy verye
friendes. Thine owne Romaine souldi-
ors haue of late rebelled agaynst the: and
wilt thou nowe trust the Numidians?
Both Syphar and Massanissa, touchyng
the dominion or rule in Africa, will pre-
ferre theym selues before the Carthagy-
nenses: yet will they gladlye suffer the
Carthaginenses to beare rule there, then
any stranger. Howe is there contencyon
& debate betwene the: because they be not
strated with any forein power: but so sone
as the Romaine armie shal appere before
the they wil foyght toyne the selues to-
gether. As in a towne where fier is in a
house, people wil assēble together to the
quēching therof, for scarfe of a comō hurt
or danger: ye shal se the Carthagin. defēd
H. ii. their

theyz walles of their towne and countrey
theyz temples, theyz owne houses, with
theyz wyues and yonge chldren, of an
ther sorte then they defended Spayne.

And what if the Carthaginenses, making
peace with the kings that be their neigh-
boures, trussinge to the strengthe of theyz
townes, & perceiuinge Italye to be made
bare of men of warre by thy commynge
thyther wyth suche a power, will sende a
newe armye from Affrica, into Italy, or
will commaunde Mago, who is alreadye
come to the costes of the Liguriens, to
tayne myth Anniball with al his power,
Then shal we be in the same case, wher-
in we were when Asdruball passed the
mountaynes, and was descended into Ital-
ye. The stronger and valiaunte cap-
fayne that thou arte, the more oughte we
& al Italy to reioyce, & to kepe the stylle
among vs. Thou canst not denye thy selfe
but that where Anniball is, there is the
head & strengthe of al this warre. And thou
sayst, that thy going into Affrica, shal be
to drawe Anniball thither, so that whe-
ther it be here or there, wyth Anniball
thou must chiefelye haue to do. And then
I praye the amyswere me. Shalt thou be

more sure in Affrica, beinge there alone,
or here in Italy, hauing the other consill
thy felowe and his hoste ioyned with thee.
And if thou wilst seke the experiece there-
of, let Claudio & Lius, the late con-
suls, be to the an example and a learning
Againe whether shall Anniball be stron-
ger in the litle angle of the Brutiens,
whereunto he is driven wyth his hole
hoste, or when he shall come to Carthage
hauing al his friendes of Affrica aboute
him: What a deuise is this, to chose ra-
ther to fight & trie with thine ennemye,
where thy power shall be smaller by the
halfe, and thine enemies power doubled
then to fight in a place, where thou shalt
haue two armies against one: yea, & that
one worne & wearied with lōge & greuous
warre. Consider thy selfe, howe muche
this thy counsaile varieteth from the mind
of thy father, he being fully appoynted to
spaine, as his prouince, fearyng the com-
minge of Anniball into Italye, to the in-
tent to mete him at his descending from
the mountaynes, lefft his owne prouince
and came into Italye. But no we thou,
when Annibal is alreadye in Italye, in-
tendest to leaue Italye: Not so; that it is
so;

The warres betwene the

the common welth so to do, but therby to purchase the a noble and gloriuous name. But O ye noble fathers conscripte, I do thinke, y P. Coz. Scipio, was not made consul for his own priuate welth or pleasure, but for the common wealth, and the safegarde of all vs. Fyther were the armes of men of warre appoynted to him to thintent, he like a prince myghte sayle with them into what parte of the world he will: but they were assygned to hym, and to all other his predecessours, for the safegarde and defence of this citee and of Italye.

With this oration of Fabius, beynge a man of great auctoritee, wisedome, experiance, & fame, the moxe parte of the auncient senatours were perswaded, and mo men allowed the sobre counsayle of the olde man, then the syerce minde of Scipio the yonge man. Wherefore Scipio made vnto him this aunswere.

¶ The aunswere of P. Cornelius Scipio, to the oration of M. Fabius Maximus. And of his sayling into Sicilia, with his armes. Capitu.lx.

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 MINTUS FABIUS in the begin-
ning of his oracion (fathers cō-
script) said, that in the declaraci-
on of his opinion he myghte be
suspected to speake of euell wil and enuy:
but it is not I that do accuse so great and
so noble a man thereof. Althoug I do not
perceyue the sam's suspicion as yet to be
by hym suffisentlye auoyded, whether
the defaulte thereof be in the deformitye
of his oracion, or for lacke of good matter
I knowe not. But this I well perceyue,
that to auoyde the cryme or suspicion of
enuye, he hathe so extolled his owne ho-
noure, wyth the fame of his noble actes,
as though it shoulde not become him, or
stand with his bonoz, to contend with me
beynge but a childe vnder the age of hys
sonne. Considering the great offices that
he hath borne in the cites, whereby as it
semeth, his meaninge is, that the desyre
of glory shold be measured onely by the
length of the life of man, and not extende
to be had in perpetuall mem'rye, wyth
our posteritye. But this I knowe wel,
that euerye noble heart hathe a couetous
desyre to be equialente in famous ver-
tie, not onelye wyth the age present, but
also

also woth the people of al ages, both past
and yet to come. And (onles I would dis-
semble) truly D. Fabius, my will is not
onely to be equall vnto thee in renowme,
but also to passe the in prayses, if I maye
attaine therunto. Let neyther of vs both
thinke, that none that shal come after vs
shall be like vnto vs. For that were a
desyre of great hurt & hinderaunce, bothe
of our posteritee, and also of the common
Welth, and generallye of all mankynde.
Furthermore Fabius hathe remembred
the ioperdies and perilles, that I shoulde
enter into, by my goinge into Affrica, as
though he were carefull both for me and
mine armie, I meruayle greatlye, from
whens this louring care and thoughte for
me is so sodeinly spronge. For when my
father and mine uncle were both slayne,
and bothe their armies almoste destroyed,
slaine, and cleane losse, the Affricanes o-
verrunning the countrey with. iii. seue-
rall hostes & capitaines : than woulde no
man offer him selfe to be a capitaine of
the Romaines in Spaine, but onely I.
At which time, when the people of the ci-
tee made me gouernour beinge than but
xxiiii. yeres oldz, there was no man found

whyche

whiche wolde remember my tender age:
neither the power of our enemites , the
daungerousnes of battayle , nor yet the
late death and destruction of my friendes
in Spayne. Is there now in Affrica anye
greater armies or better capitaines, than
were than in Spaine: As mine age at
that time more mete for the warre , than
it is now:or is it greater matter to fight
with our enemies of Affrica in Spayne,
than it is in Affrica: As it is now easy to
auaunce my selfe of. iii. armies of Car-
thage, by me destroyed: after so manye ci-
ties taken by force , after so manye pryn-
ces and wylde nacions subdued , and all
Spaine won vnto the ocean sea , so that
none apparence is leste there of any war:
Likewyle after my victorious retourne
from Affrica, it shalbe as easie to set forth
the ouercommyng of all thinges, whch
now be latde very terrible and dangerous
only to the intent to kepe me stil at home.
Fabius demeth, that I shall haue no ha-
uenis or portes open for me to enter . He
also remembreteth the takyng of. M. Attil-
lius Regulus in Affrica, as though. M.
Attilius had his fall at his firsse arrial
into that contrey, Therof trueli he had

hauenis

The warres betwene the
hauens open and enter at his pleasure, ye
by the space of an houre were he dyd manye
noble actes there: Whome the Cartha-
ginenses were neuer able of their owne
power to subdue, til the second yere after
his coming, and many of his host slayne.
They sent for Xantippus capitaine of the
Lacedemonians, with hys power: by
whome he was at lengthe ouertaken and
taken in battayle. This example can no-
thinge feare me. For why shold I more
feare to sayle into Africa bycause of the
taking of M. Attilius, then I was afraid
to saile into spaine after the death of both
the Scipyons? And I truste Xantippus
the Lacedemonien was not borne to bee
more fortunate to the Carthaginenses,
then I shalbe to the Romaynes and to
mine owne countrey. The tale muste be
recited of the Athenienses, howe fondely
leauyng warre at home, they entred
into Africa: But why doest thou not re-
verse the histori of Agathocles, kyng of
the Syracusanes? Who when his coun-
try of Sicilia had ben long troubled with
warre by the Carthaginenses, he wryth
his hoste sayled ouer into Africa: where-
by he delynered hys owne countrey from
warre,

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 232
warre, and tourned all to the defence of
him, & his power in Africa. But to shew
the commoditee of inuading of a foreyne
countrey, thereby to auoyde iepardyes
at home: what better exaumple can anye
man reherse, then of this Anniball: there
is greate dyfference betwene the syghte
of bournyng and spoyleyng of other
mennes countreys, and the sighte of the
destruction of thine owne cityes and re-
gions. There is moxe courage in a man,
that offreth battaile, then in him that de-
fendeth. Lyttel thoughte Annibal at hys
syrt commynge to Italye, that so manye
cities and people wolde haue yelded them
vnto him as did after the battaile at Can-
nas: much leße cause shall the Carthagi-
nenses haue of truse or hope in Africa,
considering theyr untruthe to their neig-
bours, and their owne proude and cruell
dominion over their subjectes. Cale being
 forsaken of our neighbours, haue still en-
dured all daungers by oure owne power
and strength. The Carthaginenses haue
no greate strength of their owne. Their
power is in hyred souldyours of Africa
and Numidia, whose lighte wittes cause
lyghte saythe, when they see cause of
change

The warres betwene the
chaunge. If ye suffer me to depart hence,
with sped, ye shall shortly heare of my
passage thither, and of the warre wherē,
with I shal vere them. And then shall ye
see Anniball make sped to departe from
this countrey: and ye shall heare shortly
of the syege of Carthage: not doubtynge,
but that ye shall receiue gladder tidinges
from Affrica, then euer ye had fro me out
of Spaine. These hopes I doe conceyue.
Fyrste of the fortune of this citee and peo-
ple of Rome. Secondly, through the truthe
of the goddes, which are witnesses of the
truse broken by them. Thirdly, that occa-
syon offered by Syphar and Massanissa,
to whose promise and faith I wyl so trust
that I wyl also be wel ware of theyz false
hode and dyscceipte. And it is the parte of
a man & a good capptayne, not to shrinke
and forsake fortune, when it is offered.
I knowe well Quintus Fabius, that I
shal finde Annibal my matche: but I wyl
rather draw hym, then he shal retire me.
I wyl cause hym to fight with me in hys
owne countrey. And Carthage shall rather
be a pray and a rewarde of oure vic-
tory, then the countrey and castels of the
Brettans, which are almoſt dystryoyed al-
ready.

Romaynes and the Cartaginensis. 23
ready. Now when ye say, Italy shalbe in
daunger by my departyng hens, I praye
you, maye not. P. Licinius the consult
(whyles I am sailynge thyther) say with
his host Hannibal, that is nowe of small
power: aswell as thou. Q. Fabius, dyd
dell staye hym, when he as a conquerour
ueranne al Italy: It shal be a great ho-
noure to the Romaines, and an eternall
fame amonge kynges and strange naci-
ons, that we haue the courage not onelye
to defend Italye, but also to enter & make
warre in Affrica. What shame shal it be
when it shal be sayde, that Hanniball en-
terpryzed an acte, that no Romayne cap-
tayne euer durst enterpryse: When con-
tentacion was betwene vs and the Cartha-
ginenses for Sicilia, oure nautes and ar-
myes oftentimes invaded Affrica: Howe-
when contention is for Italy betwene vs
Affrica remayneth quiet in peace. But
now let Italye take rest, and be in peace,
which of longe time hath been vered, and
let Affrica an other season suffer boun-
nyng, spoylling, and wastyng. And let the
puissant Romayne armee approche the
walles of Carthage: rather then we shuld
with bulwarkes and fortifyacrons de-
sende

Sende oure ennemyes from oure owne walles. Let Affrica bee from henseforthe the place of war. Let feare, flying, sleing, wallyng of fieldes and other distruictiones belonging to warre, be now tourned thither, whyche by the space of. viiiii. yeares hath invaded our countrey.

After this aunswere of Scipio, greate strife and alteracyon was in the senate house. At the laste it was decreed, that Scipio, with ihyrt shippes shuld go into Sicilia, and from thense at his pleasure, ys he thoughte it mosse conueniente for the common welth, to sayle ouer into Affrica: the other consull to kepe war in the countrey of the Brutians agaynsse Anniball. Besydes these shippes, and the Romasne legions, which were appointed to Scipio, many cities and countreyes adioyninge to Rome, willingly ayded hym with shippes, with. vii. thousande souldours, and all thynges necessarie, of their owne costes and charges. With whiche noumber he arrived in Sicilia, and there deuyded them into companyes, appointyng to euery company an hundred men. Among all whych noumber, he chose oure thre hundred of the mosse valyante and active

actiuе yonge men, that were without armour, whome he kepte euer aboute hym. But they knewe not to what purpose he meante it. And on a daye he chose and named. iii. C. of the most noble and rycheſt yonge gentylmen of al Sicilia, whom he sayde, shoud saille with him into Affrica, assigning them a day at which they shuld appere before hym wyth theyr horse and armoure. This cominaundemente troubled them soze, & to be so farre from home with the labours by lande and by sea, seemed very painful, not onely to theim, but also to their friendes and kinsfolkes. At the day appoynted for their retoke, they came al before him, bringing wyth theim horses, barneis, and al things necessary. Then saide Scipio: It is shewed me, that certayne of you, men of armes of Sicilia, grudge soze to goe in this tourneye wyth me: Wherefore ys there bee anye of you here, of that mynde, I praye you speake now, and I will gladly heare you. For I had much leauer, that ye vittered it now betymes, then that ye shuld against your herfes go forth, and become unprofitable souldiors to mee & to the common welth. Thervnto one of the thre, C. answered truly

Trueley

The warrs betwene the

Wel syz, if it were in my choyse and election, what I shold doe, I wold not go forth in the warres. Wel, sayde Scipio, Henc ye haue plainelye declared youre mynde without dissimilacyon, I wyl appoynte one in youre place, to whome ye shall delyuer youre horse, barneyes, and other necessarie instrumentes of warre, Whome ye shall take home with you to your house, and there teache instructe and exercise him in feates of warre, till I sende for him agayne.

Of this bargaine the younge gentylman was very ioyful, and delyueryng hym all his apparell for the warre, he toke hym home with hym. When the reste of the three hundred men of armes of Sicilia, perceiued theyr companion by this meane dismissed from the warre, with the good loue and fauoure of the Capytaine; every one of them also beganne to make his excuse, & desyred to haue Scipio to appoint other in theyr roumes. Whiche he gladlye did, and by this meane he horsed, barneyed, and instructed the three hundred willynge Romayns, that were unarmed with the horses and harnes of the knyghtes of Sicilia, withoute anye charge of the

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. the stocke of the citie of Rome: Whiche proved after valiant men of armes, and did manye noble actes for the aduaunce-
ment of the common wealth. Then Scipi-
o searched out such souldours as war-
red under Marcellus the consull, at the
winninge of Siracusa, whom he chose
chieselpe: for that he iudged theym to be
expert in assailling and scalinge of tow-
nes and castelles. For than he imagined
the winnyng of great Cartilage. Hone
after he set men a worke to make shippes
wyth spedde, and to amende and to re-
payre his olde shippes. Whiche done, he
sent C. Lelius, with a good numbre of
men into Affrica, to spoyle, robbe & waste
the sea costes: where he landed in the
nyghte. And in the dawenynge of the day
setting his men in good oder, he spoyled
the syldes, destroyed and slew manye of
the Africanes: whiche loked litell for any
such sodayne invasion, they had so longe
continuall pleasure and easse. The fame
of the destrucciō came anon to Cartilage
the messangeres roysed abyde, that Scipi-
o was arrivid. For they had heard be-
fore, that he was alreadye come into Si-

The warres betwene the
cſl'a, and they were so ſodenli taken, that
for feare they could tell the certaynetie of
nathinge, neyther of the numbre of the
Romaynes, nor of theyz ſhippes: But
feare caused them to make muche more
thereof then it was in dede. The citezens
of Cartilage were then in a meruaylous
feare and penſifenes, beholdinge the ſo-
deyne chaunge of fortune, that of late
had ſo aduaunced them, that theyz army
laye before the gates of Rome: and theyz
capitaines had almoſt subdued all Italye.
Nowe contrary wiſe, they loked for none
other, but the ſpoyle of theyz countrey,
and the beſteginge of Cartilage by the
Romaines. When they conſidered their
helepe, they found theyz citezens, and men
of their owne countrey about the, weake
and nothing mete for the warre. Al their
ſtrengthe was in hyzed ſouldiours from
other partes of Affrica, and they were
maueringe people, vntrewe and vnſted-
fast. They also rekened Syphar to be tur-
ned from them by the ſecrete commun-
ication, that Scipio had wyth hym: þas
Sanissa was apparently become theyz en-
emie. Of Mago they had no tidinges of
his remouing from Gene, and going in-

Romaynes and the Cartthaginies. 224
to Italye, to ſoyne his houſt with Annibals
houſte: and the fame, and alſo the strength
of Anniball was waxed faynt.

When they had all hole conſidered theyz
wofull ſate and condicione: then beganne
the ſenatoures to counſayle and prouyde
for helepe in theyz preſent neceſſtie. They
muſtered theyz men, both in the citice and
without. They hyzed many ſouldiours:
Affricanes. They vitayled their cyſee:
they amendered theyz ſhippes, they prouy-
ded harnelle & al other thyngeſ uedetull,
Wher they were thus buyl, true tidingeſ
came, that it was not the capitayne Scipi-
o, that was arriuued: it was Lelius that
with certaine ſhippes and menne, was
come to robbe and ſpoile the countrey ou-
lye. And that the greate reſt of the armys
was yet in Sicilia. With iſſe newes
they were ſomewhaſt conſorted: and the
they decaſed to ſende ambafadoures to
Syphar, and to other princes about the,
for a ſure alliance and frenchedyppye. They
ſente alſo to Phillip king of Macedonia,
promyſyng him great ſummes of money
to inuaue eyther Italye or Sicilia, wyth
a great houſt. Into Italye alio were meſ-
ſegers ſet, to cauſe the capitaines ambiſ-
t. II. and

The warres betwene the
and Mago to stay Scipio in Italye. To
Mago was sente. xxv. long shippes, vi. m
foote men. viii. C. horsemen, and. vii. ele-
phantes, wyth great plenty of money, to
hyre mo mē in those parties, willing him
with all his strength to remoue towards
the citie of Rome, and ioyne his hoste
with Annibals. This preparation made
the Carthaginenses.

When the shippes of Carthage were ar-
riued at Gene, they founde there Mago
with his armē and nauy of shippes: who
knowing the minde of the Carthaginens-
ses, called before him a great number of
Frenchmen and Liguriens, vnto whom
he shewed, that he was sente into those
parties, to purchase them libertie, and de-
liver them from bondage, wherein they
had long bene holden. He declared also to
them, howe M. Linius, & Sp. Lucretius
laye with theyr twoo Romaine armies,
not farre from them. The one in Bret-
taine, the other in Fraunce. Whose powers to
resyst, he needed to haue a greate assemble
of people. Then the Frenchmen aunswere
red, that their hertes & mindes were hol-
lie to serue him thereth. But they sayde,
ther was an hoste of Romaines alreadye

Romanes and the Carthaginenses. 135
in theyr countrey: whiche if they dyd per-
ceve, that Mago were ayded by thepm,
they would incontinent waste & destroye
theyr countrey. Whersoze they desyred
that the Liguriens myghte helpe him:
who were nothing so neare daunger, and
they would priuily helpe him with vitay-
les and all thinges necessary, to the besse
of theyr power. Wherunto the Liguri-
ens agreed, and desyred two monethes
space to assemble & take musters of theyr
best soldiours.

Marcus Lusus, hearynge that Mago
gathered together so greate a number of
people: he remoued wyth his hoste into
Fraunce, and soyned him selfe to Sp. Lu-
cretius, lieng ever in await to mete with
Mago, so soone as he remonyng from the
Liguriens, wold offer to enter into Italy
and take his tourney towardes Rome.
But in case Mago would reste in the an-
gle of the mountaynes, withoute further
procedinge: then they lykewyse wold a-
bide about Arminius, ever readye soz the
defence of Italy.

The complaint of the Lucrenses to the
Senatours of the cruell gouernance of
M. Pleminius. Cap. lxi.

Ma Tanska

Methe warres betwene the Assanissa bearinge of the arry- uayle of a Romayne armye in Africa, wyth a small numbre of horsemen came to Lelius, to whom he complayned much of the slownes of Scipio, that he hadde not at that time bene in Africa, wthy his great power, consyderynge the lowe ebbe that the Carthaginenses were brought vnto and also seynge that Syphax was nowe busyd wthy warre wthy the princes adioyninge vnto him. Whom (he sayde) he knewe staclye, after that he had brought his owne purpose to good effect, and had leifer to settle all his owne busines, that then he woulde obserue no promyse or bonde, that he had before made to the Romans. So litle good faith he knewe to be in him. Wherefore he desyred Lelius to moue and syre Scipio, to make hast thither, and he wold not faile (although he were driven out of his owne realme) to mete with him soone after his landyng, with a good nombre bothe of horsemen and of footemen.

On the morowe after, Lelius departed with his shippes loaded with theyr praye, and landed in Sicilia: wheres he founde Scipio,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 238
Scipio, to whos he declared the mynde and message of Massanissa. Wherupon he had shortlye set forwardes into Africa, had he not heard comfort of the winning of Locres, a citie in the uttermoste parte of Italye, that then was holden by the Carthaginenses. Whiche citie in shorte time he obtainede, partly by treason of certayne carpenters, that wrought in the castell, partly by the fauour of the citezenes therof, who being greuously oppressed by Amilcar the captayne, & other Carthaginenses of the garrison, that ceased not to use all kindes of oppression ouer them at the laste consented to receyue the Romanes into the towne. Whiche drought to passe, Scipio retourned to Sicilia, leauinge behinde him D. Pleminius capayne of the towne, with a garrison sufficient for the kepyng of the same. After whose departinge, Pleminius wthy his souldours, farre passed Amilcar and the Carthaginenses in prude, avarice, and all other vices. So that it seemed, they stroue not, who shold overcome other in fates of armes: but who shold excede other in vice. They spared neither mens wiues maidens nor daughters they exceded

The warres betwene the
cruell rapine of mens goodes, and spoya-
ling of temples. Whereof the citessens
being wearye, sent message of complaint
to scipio the consull. Therupon he este-
sses came to Locras: where he hadde al
theyr matters debated, and at length pu-
nished certayne of them by emprisonmet
and after departed, leauyng Syll. Q. Ple-
minius capitaine there, with no leesse au-
toritee then he had before. But after he
departed, Plemintius willinge to execute
his malice ouer his enemies, put certain
of them to cruel death: whiche before had
complayned of him to the consull. His
souldours also were afterward more cru-
ell and unruley then they were before.
Wherefore they sente legates to Rome
with greevous complaynte to the senate,
of the manyfolde iniuryes, hurtes, and
cruell paynes, that they suffered: mucche
more by the Romaynes, then ever they
had by the Carthaginenses. Whose
complaynte beyng well and delyber-
ately berde in the senate, Quintus Fa-
bius, replete with olde malice agaynst
Scipio, to set forthe hys neglygence, in-
quired of the legates, whether they had
never before that time shewed their cause
to

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 139.
to the consull Scipio. They aunswere, that at their first complaint, he herde the
matter, and then putting the tribunes in
prison, he let Plemintius goe at lybertee
and put hym agayne in auctoritee: al-
though he was worthye more punysh-
ment then the other. But at their seconde
complainte made to hym by their legates
he was so busied about the settynge fore-
wards of his shippes and men into Afri-
ca, that he could not attende to here or ex-
amyne their matter. Then was there
greate reproche spoken of Scipio, by ma-
nye of the princes of the senate, speciallye
Q. Fabius alledged, that he was borne
to corrupte and destroy all warlike policie
and lernyng, by his ouermuch sufferance
and gaingage of libertie. Rome wold have
had Plemintius brought to Rome bound,
and Scipio called from his prouynce.
At the laste the sentence of. Q. Metellus
toke place, whiche was, that it was good
to send for Plemintius, accordyng to the
mynde of Fabius. But as touching Scipi-
o, whom the whole ritee firste had cho-
se in his youth to be a capitayne in spaine
and he accordyng to their expectation had
desuered the hole contrey out of the han-
des

The warres betwene the

des of theyr ennemys : In herbpon they
also of late had chosen hym consul, to sub-
due Affrica, and to delsuer Italy of Anni-
bal: He thoughte it not meete so: such a
noble man to be sodenly condemned, his
cause not being dulye herde and debated,
or to hane hym calleo from hys tourney,
Without a greater cause than this was.
Considering that the Locrenses could lay
no default to Scipio, but only ouermuche
sufferance of Pleminius. Wherefore he
thoughte it besse , that M. Pomponius,
With. ii. tribunes, shuld be sent to Locrus
& frō thense to Sicilia, to examine & trye,
Whether the wronges done to the Locre
were done by the commandement or assēt
of P. Scipio. or not . And in case he were
consentynge thereto, then that they shold
comand him to returne to Rome: & other
legates to occupy his place, or els that he
shoulde continue in his purpose and iour-
ney into Affrica, as he had appoynted.

According to this sentence Pomponius
With. ii. tribunes, & other legates , came
to Locrus, making proclamation, that if
any man wold accuse Pleminius, Scipio
or any other man, that they shuld come be-
fore them, and they shuld be well herde.

The

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 238
The Locrenses gyuing great thankes to
the Romaynes , for the goodnes therein
to thē shewd, answered, that they wold
accuse Pleminius, as chiese doer of al the
mischife, & certaine other with him. But
as touching Scipio, they had nothinge to
charge hym wothall : but that he eyther
gane ouermuch credite to Pleminius, or
to littell faſthe to their wordes. But they
sayd, they knew very wel, that the wronges
to them done , were neyther by the
wyl nor commaundement of Scipio, but
they thoughte hym to be of the nature of
many men, which are ſoȝy that any wrog
or offence ſhould be commytted , and yet
whan the iuris be done, they haue not
the hertes or willes to reuege, or punyſhe
the offenders of the ſame.
With this awnſwere M. Pomponius,
and the other , were muche ealed of anye
further inquife of Scipios matter. wher
fore they toke Pleminius, and. xx. other
of his complices, that were founde gyltye
of dyuers greater offences , and ſente
them bound to Rome: where Pleminius
dyed in pryon. ſone after the other were
put to condigne execucion. Then thought
they to go to Scipio, to ſee, whether y ſlau-
der

The warres betwene the
ver spoken of his slouth in gouernante,
or of the misorder of hys hoste were true
or noe: that they myght therof make true
report, whā they were returned to rome.

Scipio hearing of their commyng, caused all his armye to repayre to Syracuse, where he then lay: and also caused his nauie of shippes, to be set forthe and ordered in all poyntes, as thou ghe he shoulde the same daye haue fought with the Carthaginenses, both by water and land. Whā Pomponius and the other ambassadours were come, he gentilly and louinglye received them. He shewed them his armye on the land in array redy to fight: hys nauye also on the sea, he shewed them not only redy to battaille, but makynge a shew of a fight in the banen. Then led he them to his garners of corne: and into hys armoye and store houses of ordinance and artillary, and all instrumentes of warre. Who seinge all his prouision and order, were striken with a great admiracyon of him & his conduct: iudgyng that through hys gouernance of his army, the Carthaginenses shoulde be overcome: or elles it were never possyble for them to bee subdued. Therfore desyrynge the goddes

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 137
to prosper wel his iourney, they departed from him, takynge theyr waye to Rome with great ioye, as though they were going to bryng tydynge to Rome of victoore, rather than to reporte the meruaylous preparacyon towardes battayle, which they had seene in Sicilia.

Then they came into the senate house, they extolled the fame and actes of Scipio after suche sorte, that they sente hym wōde incontinent, to departe towardes Carthage, takynge with hym whome he woulde, leauyng behynde hym so: the defense of Sicilia certaine at his pleasure.

¶ Kyng Syphax maryeth the daughter of Al-
drubal, he sendeth letters to Scipio, willinge
him to abstaine from anye warre in Africa.
With the answere and dyssimulacion of

Scipio vnto the same. Scipio arry-
uet in Africa with hys host, to
whom cometh Massanissa.

Capitulo. Ixii.

 Hyles the Romayns made this
great ordynance for the warre:
the Carthaginenses, fearyng
greatly the coming of Scipio
prepared

prepared as much as they coulde for thise
defence and strengthe. Wherefore
to plucke Syphar from the amitee of the
Romaynes, Asdruball, the sonne of Gis-
gen made hast to synishe a mariage be-
twene Syphar and hys daughter, that
was a very sayre mayde. The king being
inflamed with loue, made haste also to be
maried. Then Asdruball, besides his par-
ticular aliace, made a new general bonde
of amitee betwene him & the Carthaginé-
ses, with great solemnitie and othes ta-
kyng: promysyng faithfullye, that the
frendes and ennemis of the one, shoulde
also be the friendes or ennemys to the o-
ther. Neurr the leste Asdruball remem-
bryng the promysle of amitee, y the kynge
had ones made wyth Scipio, when he
was lodged with him in his palais: kno-
wyng the mutabilitee and vnsedassnes
of those barbarous nacions, and fearing
lest if that Scipio were ones arryued in
Affrica, that the bande of mariage woldes
be but lyttel worth: Wherefore whiles the
loue was feruent betwene the kynge and
his daughter, he by his greate desyre, and
his daughter also wyth hir sayre entre-
syng, caused the kynge to sende hys am-
bassa-

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bassadoris to Scipio into Sicilia, wyth
letters, gruyng him warnyng, that he
shuld not vpon the truss of any promysle to
hym before made by the kyng, sayle ouer
into Affrica: aduertisyng hym, that he
had married the daughter of one Asdrubal
of Carthage, whom Scipio mette in his
palacie, when he arrived in Affrica. Fur-
thermore he sayde, he was in a greate
leage and amitee with the people of Car-
thage. Wherefore he desyred hym and the
Romaynes, if they wolle warre with the
Carthaginenses, that they do it far from
Carthage, as they haue done heretofore,
that he shoulde not nede to be presente at
theyr battailes. For in case Scipio woldes
not forbeare Affrica, but lar siege to Car-
thage, he could no leste doe, but fighte for
the defencie of hys countrey of Affrica, in
which he was gotten borne and broughte
up: and for the defencie of the countrey of
his wyfe, for his father and family.

With these letters came the messangers
to the cities of Cypacula to Scipio who
perceyued by the contentes of the same,
that he shoulde haue greate lacke of the
kings helpe, in his busines of Affrica: yet
he set forthe a countenaunce, kepinge se-
cretes

The warres betwene the

Cretes the cause of theyz comyng, til he had sent them home againe to the kyng wyl letters : wherein he mowed him, neuer to breake the promyse that he ones made him, nor swarue from the faith and amite made with the Romaines, wherof the goddes were witnessses . When the messangers were departed with his letters, Scipio fearing leste his souldours wolde mase much and devise also of the cause of the commyng of the sayd messangers, to hide the sayd cause from them, and to put them in courage, he dyssembled the matter, and callynge bys men together sayde to them.

Hirs now is the full tyme for vs to departe hense into Affrica, without further tariyng. For the kinges our friends haue sent vnts vs , instantly desiringe vs , to make sped. Fyfte Massanilla came to Lelius, complainyng greatly of our tractinge of tyme. And now Syphar hath also sent unto vs , maruaylyng why we tarie so long. Desyryng that we wyl either shortlye come ouer to hym , or els in case we be otherwys minded , to certifie hym by writynge: that therupon he maye provide for hym selfe and his countrey. wherfore

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forx sens all thinges is noswe readye, and the matter requireth haste , I entende to leade mine army and nauy to the parties of Lilibus: and as soone as the weather serueth, to depart with the fauour of the goddes toward Affrica.

Aster these wordes to them spoken, he odered all thinges for his departinge, and soone after came to the sayde porche, with all his hoste. Al his shippes also met him there. The noumber whereof was so greate, that the hauen suffyed not to conleyne theym , nor the ritee coulde not receyue the men. If the certayne of the numbre wryters do not agree. Wherefore I wil let it passe. But it seemeth, the numbre of the men was greate, that atchieued so greate an enterpryse, and for whm so great prouision was made. For there were. 400. shippes charged with men, biasses, ordinances, and other necessarie caryage, besides. xx. great & longe shippes, wherof Scipio hym selfe, and L. Scipio his brother , rocke the greate nauice, & other. xx. like shippes under the rule of C. Lelius his admirall of the sea. Which. xl. great shippes thus druyt, sayled ouer on both sides of the other. iii.

Bk.

C. 29

The warres betwene the

C. as wasters, for the defence of theyr batailes and cartage. In euerye shippe also he caused to be vitayles and frefhe water for. xxv. dayes : whereof the meate that would serue for. xv. dayes was ready sodden, the other was rawe. Then gane he commaundement to al his souldours, to kepe peace and silence in their shippes, for troubling the shippes : & that they shoulde be redy to do all that the sayd shippmen desired them to do, if nede required. Wyth this greate number of shippes & of men, they departed the day folowinge: Euerye one of the. xi. long shippes being appoineted to haue in the night season one light, every one of the. iiiii. C. laden shippes. ii. lyghtes, & the capitaines chise shippes, for a speciall marke or knowledg, had threے sayze lightrs. In the morning at the sounding of a trumpet the vesseles set forth in good order. And Scipio him selfe at his departing, made his prayer openly in the audience of many people on this maner.

Ye goddes and goddesseſ, which inhabite rule and gouerne both ſea and land, I humbly beseeche you that ye graunte all thinges that I haue done, do, or ſhall do, may turne to the honour and wealthe of me

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me and the citēzens of Rome, and that ye will be ayding and assyding to me in my procedings: So that our ennemis being overcome, we maye ſafe and ſounde returne home to oure houſes, laden wyth the p̄aye gotten by the ſpoyle of oure enemis. Graunt ye also, that I may haue power ſo to do vnto the people and citē of Cartage, as they haue intended to do to the citē of Rome.

Aſter theſe wordes, doing ſacrifice (after the custome that they uſed) be departed. The wynde was good, and in ſhort ſpace tolke them from the ſight of the land, and within foure dayes, they were broughte vpon the coſte of Africa. Then ſcipro ſeing a greate mountayne or rocke, lieng out vpon the ſea, inquired of the maſter of his ſhippe, what was the name of that mountaine. He anſwered, it is named the mount of beautee. Then ſaid Scipio I like the name and the lucke therof very well: in the nexte haven thereto ſet vs on lande. When the armie was landed, they gaſt them to the narte hillies, where vpon they pitched their tentes, & encamped them ſelues. Then were the inhabitants of the ſea coſtes, and all the countrey

The warres betwene the
frey thereabout, in great feare and trou-
ble, perceyning the arriuall of so great a
nuise, euery man fled fro m those parties
taking with them theyz wifes, their chil-
dren and substauice, drusing before them
theyz cattel to the nexte strонge townes,
to the great feare of al the countrey where
the newes thereof was broughte. Speci-
ally in Carthage such feare, sorrow, and
trouble inuaded the people, as though
theyr citee had beene alreadye taken by
theyz ennemis. They were then vnpio-
uided both of men of warre, and also of a
good capitaine to be their gournour.
The best capitayne that they then hadde
was Asdruball the sonne of Gisgon, whos
Scipio at diuers battels in Spayne, had
before put to flyghte, & at the laste drove
him cleane oute of Spayne, with all his
helpers: so that they esteemed the capitay-
nes to be as farre vnlike, as the armie of
Carthage was unlike to the Romaynes
hoste. In this great feare the gates of the
citee were shutte, the walles kepte wyl-
lache and warde, as though theyr ene-
mies had ben alredy come before þ wal-
les of the towne. Five hundred horsemen
were also sente forthe to espye the con-
tra

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viste of the Romaynes, whos by chaunte-
mette wylth manye romayne horsemen,
that were sente ouer to robbe and spoyle
the syeldes adioynyng, and were by
þeym put to flyght, to the greata losse of
many of the Carthaginenses.
þone after the arriuall of the Romans
came Hassanissa to Scipio, bringing with
þem two hundred good men well horsed.
His power was þe not great, for he had
bene driven and chased oute of his owne
realme, and was banyshed by strengthe
oute of his owne countrey. þe hys com-
minge was very ioyfull and comfortable
to the Romaines. The Carthaginenses
after the losse of their horsemen, assebled
againe a newe winge of horsemen, wher
of they made gouernor Hanno, the son of
Amilcar. Then sente they letters and le-
gates to Asdrubal, to come to the succour
of the citee, that was at pornt to be basie-
ged. They sent also to king Siphar, desy-
ring him to come to the succoure & defece
both of Carthage, & also of all Affrica.
Then lay the Ronsains nere unto the ci-
tie of Utica. Hanno hauinge with him
111. M. horsemen, came to the towne of
Salera, xv. miles from the Romaine cape
Teben

When Scipio had knowledgement thereof, he sente Massanissa before, with certayn horsemen with him to spy mythe wþ them at the gates. Commaundinge hym that so soone as the multitude of his enemis were ones come forth, and that he could no longer endure their strengþ, that then he shold softly withdraw hym selfe towards the hilles, where he shuld finde hym with his hoste, redy to succour him. With this instruction Massanissa de goede to the gates, of the citye skirmishing with such as were at the sayd gates, manye came forthe to the battayle withoute good order, & then Massanissa, sayning hym selfe to be afraid, somewhat reculed suthine he turned again & fought, with them that folwed hym. Thus he played at base with theym, till the whole multitude of horsemen were come forth of the gates. Then soberly he withdrew hym selfe til he came to the hils, to which hilles the Romain horsemen were then mostly come. Then Massanissa fiercely retourned and assayled his enemies, and the Romans being fr̄ the the selues and havinge fr̄ the horses, compassed & assayed them that were before almost weare wþ

With chasing Massanissa, so þ at the firste brunt, Hanno hym selfe, and a. viii. horsemen wþ hym were slayne. The reste fledde, wherof the Romans in the chace sieue and toke other. ii. viii. among whom were many noble men of the citee of Carthage. The praye after the victoþe was great. The towne was taken, and the capitaines with other men of armes were well rewarded by Scipio. But aboue other he gane Massanissa greate gyftes, and leauinge a sufficient garrison in the towne, he with his hoste remised thence sending much of the praye, which he had taken, both men, beastes, and other rychesse, by certayne of his shippes into Sicilia: intendyng hym selfe to assayle the citye of Utica, with all his power: which if he myghte ones winne, he reckened to be a resyng place for hym and his, till the rest of his voyage were achieved. Thus was the towne of Utica besyeged round about, and their hope was to haue succours of Asdrubal: who had assembled together. xxx. viii. footemen, and .iii. viii. horsemen. Neverthelesse for al that number, Asdruball durst not set forth of Cartilage, till kinge Syphax was also come to

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to him with fyfty thousande footemen, and. r. M. horsemen. Then set he foawardes, and came nere unto Utica, pyt chinge his tentes and campe not farre from the Romain armye. There came about this time from Sicilia and Sardinia great plenty of wheat, to vpplye the Romaines: so that they had therof great plentye. There was also brought thither xii. C. gownes, and. viii. M. cotes for the souldours, and prouision was made for all thinges that they lacked. These were the actes of Scipio in Africa this somer. During whiche sommer, P. Sempronius the consull in Itale soughe with Anniball: where the Romayns had the worst, and lost. vii. C. of theyr men. But soone after Sempronius sent for P. Licinius the proconsull, to come to hym wylth his armye. After whose coming, theyr powers beynge ioyned together, they wente towarde Anniball, and he beyng ioyfull of his last victorye, fought wylth them agayne to his greate losse. For there were foure thousand of his men slayne, and. iii hundred taken. Then Annibal beyng greateley discomfited with this losse, returnd syde thence to Croton, gone after

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the time of the chosynge of consules was come, at which Cn. Heruilius Cepio, and Cn. Heruilius Geminus were crete consules, and other officers were chosen, according to the olde custome, divers cities also of the Brutiens, as Consentia, Pandosia, and other, submitted them selues, and returned againe to the Romaynes.

¶ Scipio wyllyng espypinge the maner of his enemites canpes, in the nyghte burneth them bothe, putteth Syphar and Afaruball to flight, with greate losse of theyr men.

They make agayne a newe field,
and are alstones discomfited,
and put to flight.

Cap. lxxii.

¶ In the winter dyewyntere, and botel the great hostes lay encamped not farre from Utica: yet Scipio never easised from the besiegeynge of the towne, and his camp was in the sighte of his enemites. His mynd was ful upon his busynes touching the warre. Among other his careys he derysed greatly, by what meane he might bryng Syphar from the Cartaginenses,

Gynenses , luyngage that the heate of loue , whyche he had to his younge wifc was by that tyme somewhat assawged , and that he was then werye of the pleasure in loue , bryng (as he thought satissed therinto his consentacion : When he had by legates assayed the mynde of the kyng , he made answere , that he wold intreate of peace betwene the Romaynes and the Carthaginenses . Upon this conviction , that the Romaines shold depart cleane oute of Affrica , and the Cartagynenses lykewyse out of Italy , without further trouble : oþ elles he woulde not falle to pursue the warre on the partie of the Carthaginenses . With these condicions Scipio was nothing pleased : Neverthelesse , trusyng by further communication in the matter , to haue aduantage , by the serche and trewe knowledge of the state of hys enemyes , thogh the common entercourse of eyher partie to the others campe : he faintly refused thos condicions , wherby his enemyes might take some hope of the achieuinge of theyr purpose . Nowe were the wynter houses in the camps of the Carthaginenses made of woodde and boles , such as they could get

get together . The Pumidians lodgings were couered wyth flagges and redes , as they late within theyr campe , without order . Many also chosyng theyr owne places withoutte assignemente , laye wyth- out the campe or dyches : whyche brynges shewed to Scipio , gaue him a comforste and an hope , that the lodgings of his enemyes by pollicie myght be set on fyre . Wherefore at euery time that he sent any ambassadours to the kyng Syphax , to entreate of the peace , to be perfectly assurred of the trewor state of all thynges , he euer sent with the certaine witty fellowes of his armye , dysguised in the habite and sourme of slaues , commaundinge them , whiles the ambassadours were busye in theyr communicacio , that they shuld ray abrode to al partes of the campe of his enemyes , & to marke well the entrees and issues of the campes , with the syre and safion of the stacion or lodgings , as well of the Carthaginenses as of the Pumidens , and in what quarter they were set , and how farre the kynges campe was distante from the campe of Afzuball , with the maner of theyr watch and ward both by night and by dayes .

When

When the matter was thus dyners
tyme debated betwene the two counsa-
les: and that the Romaines were perfect
of all the state of theyr ennemys, and
theyr order: Then the legates of Scipio
sayd vnto the kyng, that they were com-
maunded never to returne, vntil they had
brought determinate aunswere, either of
peace or of warre: Desyryng hym, eyther
to geue aunswere thereof hym selfe, or to
take the counsayle and aduyse of Asdrubal
and the Carthaginenses, and there-
upon to make them theyr aunswere. For
it was now hye tyme to know, either the
one or the other, withoute further tryse,
lynge forth of tyme. Thus whyle Siphar
toke the advise of Asdrubal, and Asdrubal
of the noble men of Earthalge, the
espyes had leaser to biewe and serche all
things that they were charged with, and
Scipio had tyme to prepare all that was
mete to serue his purpose. The Numidi-
ens also & the Carthaginenses, trusting
ouer on peace, were negligente in forese-
yng and auoydynge daungers of warre
that were prepared for theyr myschiefe.
At the last aunswere was made, that the
Romaines woulde haue peace, but their
counse

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condicions were not indifferent. Whiche
they desired. Wherupon Scipio, havinge
a good occasion, honestlie to breake the
truce before betwene them taken. On the
morrow he sente word to the kyng, that
syns he perceiued no man willynglye to
haue peace but hym selfe: therefore the
kyng from thens forth shoulde trusse to
haue no peace with the Romaynes, on-
esse he wold leave the amitee of the Car-
thaginenses. Then was the tyme of trule
tryed, and the spryng of the yere was
come. Wherefore Scipio, to bryng hys
purpose aboute, assembled together hys
shippes, and furnyshed them with ordyn-
nance and artillery, as though he wold
assaile Utica on the sea coste. He also sent
two thousande men of warre to kepe the
hyll aboute Utica, whiche before laye un-
kepte: And that he dyd for two purposes.
First, to draue the myndes of his enne-
mies from the suspectiōn of that whiche
he had deuysed, and to occupy them with
contrary woorke. Secondly, with that po-
wer to defend his campe from the excus-
ions of the citzens, in case they woulde
issue out, whiles he with his power were
gone to Siphar, and Asdrubal. Then did he

The warres betwene the
be open vnto Massanissa, & certayne other
what his minde was to do the nyghte fo-
lowynge. And he commaunded the Tri-
bunes, that in the eueninge folwinge,
they shoulde bryng forthe the hoste in-
to the syeldes. They accordyng to hys
commaundment, about the sonne setting
sette forthe the standarde and banners,
and in the begynnyng of the nyght, the
hoste sette forwarde in arraye, so that by
mydnyghte they hadde gone. viii. my-
les, and were come nere to the campe of
theyz ennemys. Then Scipio deuyded
hys armye in. ii. partes. The one parte
with the Numidians he appointed to Le-
lius and Massanissa, wyllyng them to in-
vade the campe of kyng Syphar, and
to set fire on the lodgings made of bowes
and of flagges, hartelye prasyng them
both, that night to applye theyz busynesse
with greate dilygence. And he sayde, that
so sone as he might perceiue the fire to be
in the kynges campe, then wolde he also
assayle the campe of Asdrubal.

Accordyng to his commaundement the
purpose was achieved. For incontinent
after the fyre was put into the uttermost
partes and houses, the fyre anon toke in

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the drie stickes and flagges, and ranne
from one house to another: so that in shor
space it was abrode in euerie parte of the
campe. The numidians of the kynges
house, perceiupnge the fyre, were fryken
with a sodayne great feare, and the more
because it chaunced in the nighte season.
Yet nothing misstrusting the cause there-
of to arysse throughte their ennemis, but
indigringe it to come throughte some neg-
ligence or evill fortune. They ranne on al
partes to helpe to cease or quench the fyre
withoute armoure or weapons. Powe
Massanissa, whiche knew the wayes and
entrees aboute the kynges campe, had so
layde his Numidians in embushmentes,
that as the people ran abrode to quench the
fyre, they fel into the company of their en-
nemis et they knewe where they were,
by þ meanes many were slaine, manys
also were burned in theyz beddes wþ fyre.
The watche of the Carthaginensis, in
the campe of Asdruball, parcyppynge the
great fires in the kynges campe, alwaied
the rest of the hoste. Who beyng also de-
ceived, for that they thought the fire was
happned by negligence, and not by the de-
use of their ennemis, and hearyng the greate

The boates betwene the
greate crise of theyr company in the kinges
host, that were slaine which they thought
came but onely through the sondryne feare
of the fyre, that was happened in the
nyght: they canne together in compaines
unarmed oute of the gates of theyr cam-
pes, the next waye, takyng onely wth
them suche thynges, wherwyth they
migt quenche the fyre. Whom the Ro-
maines receiued as they came, and slewe
them euerye one, that none escaped to
beare tydylnges thereof. Then Scipio in-
continentente invaded the campe. Where
syndyng the gates therof unwarded, he
entred with his armys, and set fire on the
lodgynges in dyuerse partes, whch fyre
dyng abrode, in short space burned al that
was therein, both man beaste and luffe.
And suche as wolde haue fledde from the
daunger of the fyre, were slayne wth the
swerde of the Romaynes.

Thus in one time were bothe the cam-
pes wonne. Neverthelesse both the cap-
taines escaped with xx. M. footemen, and
v. C. horsemen wherof many were woun-
ded and hurt with that fyre. There were
slayne and burned that nyghte. r. M. be-
sydes them that there were taken, aboue

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vi. thousande, wth manye noble men of
Carthage: whereof soyle were senatoris
wth a great and riche praye, of horses,
armure and other thinges, mucle of va-
lure, whiche were distributed amonges
the souldiours. The king with certayne
with him fledde to his owne countrey.
Asdrubal with as gret sped as he might
came to Carthage, where he found the ci-
tie sore troubled, and in great feare.
For they iudged, that Scipio, leauinge
the further assaulte of Utica, woulde in-
continentente after his victorie come to as-
sault and ouercome Carthage. Wher they
determined, in haste to assemble a newe
hoste of the city and countrey about thent.
They also sent messangers to kyng Sy-
phar, to require him that he woulde ga-
ther his power, and helpe to defend both
his countrey and theyrs. Wherupon his
yonge wife much moued him: who pite-
ously weping, desired him not to suffer
his fathars and her countrey to be distroy-
ed, and the citie of Carthage to be boun-
ded by the Romaynes, as they of late
bourned the kynges tentes and her fa-
thers. The legates of Carthage also shew-
ed

Iwed him, that good fortune was coming towards them, For that there were arrived of late. iiiii. M. men of warre of Celsiberia, a countrey of Spayne, whiche were hyred to come to theyz succours.

And that Asdruball woulde not sayle to sygne wyth hym wyth a ful noble armye To whō the king gaue gentle aunswere sayeng, that he woulde assemble and put in armour all the lustie yonge men of his realme. For he sayd, he knewe well, that he was before ouercome by fyre, and not by battayle. Wherefore he woulde never accompte him selfe vanquished, oneles he were overcome & subdued in the fielde by strengthe and power. With this aunswere the messangers departed.

And shortly after accordinge to theyz apoyntemente Asdruball and the kynge mette together, wyth their armies, and had betwene them both. xxx. M. men.

Scipio hearyng of their newe commyng againe on him, with that power, lefte at the sayd Utica, a smal number of his people both by sea and by land: and him selfe wyth his great powre wente to mete his ennemis. He pitched his campe in the playne syelde, not farre from the kinges campe

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campe, where lyghte skyrmyses were made betwene the horsemen of both parties, by the space of. iii. dayes. In the fourth day, the capitaynes prepared their hostes to battayle.

Scipio set his spearemen in the fronte of his battayle, behinde whome were his best assured souldiours footemen sette to theyz ayde and succours. In the ryghte wyngē were his horsemen of Italye.

On the left wingē was Massanissa with his Numidian horsemen.

On the other side, Asdruball agaynst the wyngē of Italian horsemen, set his Numidians, & against Massanissa he set hys Carthaginēses. In the middes were the newe souldiours of Celsiberia. Thus being ordered, the battayles toynd. And at the first encounter, both the winges of the Carthaginenses and of the Numidians were driven backe. For the Numidians being nowe rude & vtaught men of armes, were nothing able to resist y Roman horsemen: neither the Carthaginenses (being also vnperfyt in feates of war) were able to withstande Massanissa that was fierce and terrible, through the soye of his late victori. Wherefore the winges

The warres betwene the
being thus put to flyght, the pore army
of the Celiberians remained alone, na-
ked destitute of helpe or refuge. Ffie they
durst not, soz that being in an unknowē
country, they knewe no place whether
to flye to be saued. Againe, if they were
taken they loked for no grace at Scipios
hande: seing they came from theyz owne
country into Africa, to fyghte agaynste
him that had before oft times bene their
good fryende. Wherfore beyng compas-
sed about with their enemies, they were
slaine one upon an other withoute pitye.
But whiles all men were busye aboute
thm, Syphar and Asorubal had time to
escape, to whom the nyght being so nere
was much their safegarde.

What feare the Carthaginenses were
in after this greate ouerthowre of theyz
fryendes, and seinge Scipio with his ar-
mee, ouer ridinge the country rounde a-
bout them, and winninge the cities and
townes which were vnder theyz subiecti-
on: no pen can write, noz tunge expresse.
They loked euery houre when theyz citee
should be enuyzoned with theyz enemies
they fortifid their walles, they broughte
in vitayles to endure a lenger space, and
prepa-

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 249
preped all thinges necessary.

They consulted what were best for them
to do. It was agreed, that messangers
should be sent with letters to Anniball,
commaunding him to come to Carthage
with his power to theyz succours.

Certayne of the senatours gave counsell
that a good number of shippes, furnished
with men and ordynance, should sodainly
muade the Romaine host and nauy, that
laye in rest at Utica: not mistrustyng but
they should fynde the shippes negligent-
ly kepte: whereby wyth small payne they
might oppresse them. On these two poin-
tes the senatoures agreed. The shippes
were set forth, and letters were also sent
to Anniball. Scipio retournig from the
battaile, leadyng and carayeng with him
the spoyle or pray of many townes, whi-
che he wanne: sente his sayde praye with
the prysoneers to hys campe at Utica.
He him selfe came to Tunnes, whyche
he found voyde of men of warre. They
were fled after the battaile and lefte the
towne without any garrison. Of the ta-
king of this towne Scipio was very glad
as well for that it was naturallye strong
by reason of the site; thereof, beside that it

The warres betwene the
surely fortifyed by the industrie of man,
as also for that the place was so commo-
dious for his purpose. It was diaunte
from Carthage twelue myles. Yet from
thence he myght well see the citee of Car-
thage, and also the sea that hette on the
walles of the towne.

Whiles the Romaynes were castinge a
trenche and fortifyenge this towne of
Tunnes: they perceyued the nauye of the
Carthaginenses sayling towards Utica.
Then Scipio leauing his workes, made
haste wþt hys men towardes Utica, to
come to the helpe of his shippes, that laye
at the syege thereof, and came before the
arryuynge of the Carthaginenses: who
tristeled the tyme on the sea, beyng in
feare to sette on that enterpryse: so that
Scipio had prouyded wel for the defence
of his shippes before theyz commynge.

Neuertheles after much trouble and
fights on the sea, they tooke wþt
them. vi. Romaine shippes, and
returned to Carthage, where
no small toyse was made of
that very smal gayne.

Syphar

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 250
¶ Syphar maketh a newe fytelde wþt Lelius
and Massanissa: where he is taken prisoner,
and his men put to flyght. Massanissa, then
taketh the citye of Cirtha, & there in haste
marþeth Sophonisba, wyfe to kyng
Syphax. Cap. lxiii.

He morrowe after the battayle
was soughe, and the kinge Sy-
phar had escaped, as is before
declared, Scipio sente Lelius
and Massanissa, wþt all the Romayne
horsemen, and the lyghtest harneyssed
footemen, and also the Numidians, to fo-
lowe the kyng and Asdruball: whyles
he wente aboue to wynne the townes
and countrey adiacent to Carthage.
They within. xv. dayes came into Nu-
midia: at whose coming a people thereto
called Masesuli, receyued gladlye Massa-
nissa, and delyuered him the whole re-
alme as theyz rightfull kyng, whose co-
ming they had so long desyred, expelling
cleane oute of the cities and fortresses
thereof, all the garrisons of Syphar, so
that he was glad to kepe him within the
bondes of his owne realme. His hearte
chelled at this displeasure, willyng to be
reuenged.

The warres betwene the
feuenged, whereunto his wiffe and hec
father much inticed him and pricked him
forwardes. He had great plentye of men
and also of horses, whiche much encoura-
ged him to make a newe field.

Wherfore he assembled as manye as he
thought able, geuinge them horses & har-
neys: deuidynge his horsemen and foote-
men into companies, appointyng to the
captyaynes, accordyng as he before had
learned of the Romaynes. Thus ha-
uyinge all thinges in a readynesse, he
marched towards his ennemis, with as
great an hoste as he had before: but they
were almoste all newe souldiours, and
yonge men of warre. When he came
nere the hoste of the Romaynes, he there
fortified his campe. And anone certayne
of his horsemen issued and bad base to an
other number of the Romayne horsemen.
And who so was beaten, retourned a-
gaine to his compaニー, and was anone
rescued of another number of his compa-
ニー. Thus by diuers issuunge & helpynge
every parte theyz companies, beinge ey-
ther ashamed of theyz diuininge backe,
the battayle beganne to be quycke on
both partyes, so that at the laste the hole
companyes

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 251
companyes of horsemen on bothe partes
were come to the fields. The noumber of
lyng Syphar hoste was come so thicke to
the battayle, that the Romaynes were
sayne to recule, and had beene put to the
worse, had not the Romayne legyonys of
sotemen come to their succours. At whose
comming the kinges people musyng of
theyz order and maner of fighthyng, be-
gan to staye, and at the laste were dryuen
backe, and began to flee. Syphar, willing
to withhold his people from flight, began
to erhortte them to abyde, and manfullye
to figh, shewynge vnto them, bothe the
shame and also the ioperdye that would
ensue through theyz fliyng.

And whyles he rode abouthe the feld,
comforting his people, he hapned to come
nere a company of Romaynes, where his
horse was syken dōwne and slaine un-
der him, and he taken alius, and broughte
to Lelius. His people fled as fast as they
myghte, and came to the citee of Cirtha,
whiche was the chiefe citee of all that
realme. There were of hys men slaine in
that battaille. v. M. and about. ii. M. v. C.
taken. Than saide Massanissa to Lelius:
There were nothinge to me moze plea-
saunt,

The warres betwene the
saunte, than hauyng now victory, to dw-
site my fathers kingedome, whiche after
my longe exile, I haue nowe recouered.
But the tyme wyl not suffer vs to cesse
from our enterprize. Wherfoze, if ye wyl
suffer me, to take wyth me all the horse-
men, and the kynge also now prisoner. I
wil go before you to Cirtha, where I shal
synde every man so suprysed wyth feare
that I shal soone wynne it wyth smal re-
liffence: ye, with your foyemcn may come
after me small iourneys at youre ease.

To this his devise Lelius assented. And
Massanissa with his horsemen hasted, tyt
he came to the walles of the citee of Cir-
tha where he called certains of the towne
to hym, and desired to haue certaine of the
noble men of the citee to come forthe and
speake wyth hym, whiche done, he moued
them gentillye, to yelde vp their citee:
But they, not knowyng of the takyng of
their king, in no wyse wold be perswaded
to submit them selfes to the Romaynes.
The caused Massanissa the kynge Siphar
to be brought before the bound as a pris-
oner. After which pitiful sight the citezens
partelye for feare, partly trusyng there-
by to obteine fayor of Massanissa & of the
Romaines,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 252
Romaines, opened the yates of the citee.
And Massanissa, leauyng first the gates
& walles furnished with his people to thin-
kent none of the citee shoulde escape out: he
with greate sped rode to the kynges pa-
lace. There at his firste entre he founde
Sophonisba, the wife of Siphar, daugh-
ter of Asdruball of Carthage, who abode
his commyng at the gate of his plalaice.
Whan she espied hym comming among a
great route of men of armes, she iudging
partly by his goodly armure partly by his
rich apparaille, that he was the kynge: she
fel on hir knees before hym and said: The
goddes, thy strengthe, and thy good for-
tune haue giuen the ful power to do with
vs whatsover shalbe thy pleasure. Pe-
uerthelesse if the prayer of a pore woman
may take place with hir lord, that hathe
power of lyfe and of death: I humbly be-
seche the, by that royal maiestie, wherins
of late also we were, & for the loue of the
name of the people and countrey of Numi-
dia, whiche appertained bothe to Siphar
and to you: for the loue also of the goddis
of this place, whome I desire to sende the
better & more prosperous coming hither,
than they gaue to Siphar a departyng
hens,

The warres betwene the
hens, that thou wylt graunte me to be thy
prisoner, and whatsoeuer thy pleasure be
to do with me, I shal not refuse it: so that
thou suffer me not to come into the cruell
and proude dominion of any Romaine. I
had leauer auenture to yelde me into the
power of a Numidian, and of one that is
borne in mine owne countrey of Affrica,
than to the hands of a stranger. For it is
not vñknowen to you, howe muche the
daughter of Asdruball and a Carthagin-
nese borne, hath cause to feare the hand
of a Romayne. And in case thou canste
none other wyse helpe my desire, I mose
hartilys require the, to slea me: and thus
by death delyuer me from the daunger of
the Romaynes.

This quene being of excellent beautie,
and in hir lusty florishing age, what with
her humble behauoure, what wyth her
sayre speche, so perswaded the king Mas-
sanissa, that he not only toke her to mercy
but also having the victory of her, and the
hole citie, he became so captiue to her by
loue, that he taking her by the right hand
promised her, her request, and therevpon
he mounted into the kinges palaice. Thā
he began to dyuyse in hys imagination,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 253
by what meanes he myghte performe his
promise vnto the queene. And whan he
could fynde no way to bringe his purpose
to passe, as one that was ouercome wyth
blinde loue , he intended a folyshe and a
shameful diuise, which was, to be maried
incontinent vnto her the same dafe: thin-
kinge by the mariage of her vnto him, he
had taken awaie all occasion bothe from
Lelius and also from Scipio, of doing her
any hurt or displeasure. Whan the mari-
age was finished, Lelius with his host of
footemen came to the citie of Cyrrha and
knowing of the sodeine wedding, he was
displeased with the acte, that he was min-
ded to take her from the plesat bed of her
new husband , and to send her to Scipio,
with her husband Syphar and other pri-
soners . But at the laste , he beinge ouer-
come by thincercessiō of Massanissa, who
remitted the order of that matter to the
judgement of Scipio: he sent Syphar and
other prisoners to the emperor Scipio.
After whose departing, he by the helpe of
Massanissa , receyued the other townes
and cities of that countrey of Numidia in
to his handes: whch before were kept by
the retinue of kyng Syphar.

Syphar

The warres betwene the
Syphar is brought to the campe of Scipio,
Massanissa sendeth to Sophonisba porson,
Whiche the syphonite feare drynketh.

Capi. ixv.

VHAN tidinges caine into the Ro-
maine campe, of the cominge of
Syphar, and the other noble cap-
tives: great was the number of
people that ran to beholde them.
The kinge being bound, was carayed for-
most, and after him folowed a great num-
ber of the nobilitie of Numidia. And as
the opinion of men is dyuers, so dyuers
were the tales of the people, extelling the
honour of the victorye by the myghtye po-
wer of Syphar, and by the nible fame of
the people that was overcome. There
was recounted the myghtye power of the
kyng, to whose maiestie in one day. ii. of
the moste noble seignories of the wold
sued for his fauoure and frendshyp, that
is to say the Romains and the Carthagi-
nenses. The Romains sent theyr valiant
Emperoure and Capitaine Scipio, one-
ly with. ii. galeis that bare fiue oozes on
everye syde into Africa, to seke his am-
tie, leauing in Spaine, than his prouince
all

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 254
all his hoste and greate charge. Agayne
Asdrubal, the capitaine of the Carthagy-
nenses, not onelye came into hys coun-
try for amistie, but also he gaue hym hys
daughter in maryage, for the more surs
conseyrmation of aliaunce betwene them.
Some rehersed the power and actes of
Syphar to be such, that he had drisē Mas-
sanissa out of his realme, bringyng hym
to suche extreme calamitie, that hys lyfe
coulde none other wylle bee sauad, but by
the bruitc and fame of his death: and he
after gladdē to hyde his heade in dennes
excavēs, and to live in the forestes and
wooddes lyke as a wylde beast.
With these and such like famous reporte
of the beholders he was brought into the
tente of Scipio: who was by hys pre-
sence and sight much moued with pytye,
consyderyng the honoure that he of olde
time had knownen him in, and conserring
the same to his present misery. Thā Scipi-
o after salutatiōs made & other cōmant
cation betwene thē had, asked hym, what
he wold haue hym to do to him, scyng he
not only refused the amistie of the Romai-
nes, but also wyllynglie gaue them bat-
tyle. To whom the king answered, that he

The warres betwene the
he knewe well, that he had offended, and
he confessed, that he was not in his ryght
mynde, whan he moued warre agaynst
them. He was madde, whan he did forget
the commyng of Scipio into hys realme,
and the bonde of alyaunce that he then
made with hym : but speciallye whan he
receiued into his house a matrone of Car-
thage , of whose hot loue and maryge the
fire brondes had al redy set fire in his ro-
all palacie. That madde and pestilent su-
rie, by hir intisement never ceased, til she
had turned his herte and mynde from his
olde friendes the Romaines: causing him
to pursue the warre against them. Neuer
thelesse (sayde he) in all my mystery I haue
nothinge that so much doth conforte me,
and reioyle my herte, as when I beholde
the same pestilent madde furye now to be
entred the house of my mooste ennemye.
And when I consyder that Massanissa is
no moze wylle then Siphar was, but that
he moze madly, & with leesse temperaunce
hath receiued hir, then euer I dyd.

With these wordes of the king, Scipio
was not a littest troubled, & then heringe
the greate offence layed to Massanissa he
sawe good cause, why he shuld geue cre-
dence

Romaynes and the Cartthaginases. 255
dence thereto. Consydering the great haile
made in the mariage, without the aduise
of Lelius, and without abyding his com-
mynge. This acte also seemed woyse, and
moze to be abhorred, consyderyng that he
beinge a younge man in Spaine, was ne-
ver before taken with the loue of any cap-
taine or prysoner.

As he was misynghe hereon, anon Le-
lius & Massanissa came vnto hym, whom
in open audience he merylye and ioyfully
receiued, giuyng them greate thankes
and praises for their diligēce in that tour-
ney shewed. But anon: takinge Massa-
nissa alone with hym into a secrete place,
he sayd thus vnto hym.

I know right wel Massanissa, that you
dyd perceyue some good qualities and ver-
ties in me, whan you syaste came into
Spayne to me, desyryng there my frend
shyp and amitie: and afterward in Afri-
ca, whan ye hollye committed youre selfe
into my gouernaunce. But at that tyme
ye thought youre selfe, that there was no
vertue in me, which ye so muche esteemed
as temperaunce and continency: of which
also I truly did mosse glory of my selfe.
And these vertues Massanissa I wolde ye
should

The warres betwene the
¶ Syphax is brought to the campe of Scipio,
Massanissa sendeth to Sophonisba pouyon,
Whiche she wþþoutte feare dynketh.

Capi. ix b.

VHAN tiddinges came into the Ro-
maine campe, of the cominge of
Siphar, and the other noble cap-
tives: great was the number of
people that ran to beholde them.
The kinge being bound, was caryed for-
most, and after him folowed a great num-
ber of the nobilitie of Numidia. And as
the opinion of men is dypers, so dyners
were the tales of the people, retelling the
honour of the victoþe by the mighty po-
wer of Syphar, and by the noble fame of
the people that was overcome. There
was recounted the mighty power of the
kyng, to whose maiestie in one day. ii. of
the moste noble seigniores of the worlde
sued for his fauoure and frendshyp, that
is to say the Romains and the Carthag-
nenses. The Romains sent theyr valiant
Emperoure and Capitaine Scipio, one-
ly with. ii. galeis that bare fiue oozes on
everye syde into Africa, to seke his am-
tie, leauing in Spaine, than his prouince
all

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 254
all his hoste and greate charge. Agayne
Asdrubal, the capitaine of the Carthagy-
nenses, not onelye came into hys coun-
try for amitie, but also he gaue hym hys
daughter in maryage, for the more surs
conþrmation of aliaunce betwene them.
Some reþearced the power and actes of
Siphar to be such, that he had drivē Mas-
sanissa out of his realme, bringynge hym
to suche extreme calamitie, that hys lyfe
coulde none other wþþle bee saued, bat by
the bruitc and fame of his death: and he
after gladdē to hyde his heade in dennes
or caues, and to live in the forestes and
wooddes lyke as a wylde beast.
With these and such like famous reporte
of the beholders he was brought into the
rente of Scipio: who was by hys pre-
sence and sight much moued with ptye,
conþderynge the honoure that he of olde
time had knownen him in, and conferring
the same to his present misery. Thā Scipio
after salutatiōs made & other comuni-
cation betwene thē had, asked him, what
he wold haue hym to do to him, seyng he
not only refused the amitie of the Romai-
nes, but also wyllynglie gaue them bat-
tayle. To whom the king answered, that he

The warre betwene the

he knewe well, that he had offended, and he confessed, that he was not in his ryght mynde, whan he moued warre agaynst them. He was madde, when he did forget the commyng of Scipio into hys realme, and the bonde of alyaunce that he then made with hym : but speciallye whan he received into his house a matrone of Car thage , of whose hot loue and maryge the fire brondes had al redy set fire in his roial palacie. That madde and pestilent furie, by hir intisement never ceased, til she had turned his herte and mynde from his olde friendes the Romaines: causing him to pursue the warre against them. Neuer thelesse (sayde he) in all my mystery I haue nothinge that so much doth confort me, and reioyle my herte, as when I beholde the same pestilent madde furye now to be entred the house of my mosse ennemye. And when I consyder that Massanissa is no more wyse then Siphar was, but that he more madly, & with lesse temperaunce hath receiued hir, then euer I dyd.

With these wordes of the king, Scipio was not a littest troubled, & then heringe the greate offence layed to Massanissa he sawe good cause, why he shuld geue credence

Romaines and the Cartthaginases: 25,
dence therto. Consydering the great halfe made in the mariage, without the advise of Lelius, and without abyding his comynge. This acte also seemed worse, and more to be abhorred, consydyryng that he beinge a yonge man in Spaine, was neuer before taken with the loue of any capitaine or prysoner.

As he was misynghe hereon, anon Le lius & Massanissa came vnto hym, whom in open audience he merylye and ioysfully received, giuynghe them greate thankes and praises for their diligēce in that tourney shewyd. But anon: takinge Massanissa alone with hym into a secrete place, he sayd thus vnto hym.

I know right wel Massanissa, that you dyd perceyue some good qualities and vertues in me, whan you syste came into Spayne to me, desyrynghe there my frend shyp and amitie: and afterward in Afrika, whan ye hollye committed youre selfe into my gouernaunce. But at that tyme ye thought youre selfe, that there was no vertue in me, which ye so muche esteemed as temperaunce and continency: of which also I truly did mosse glory of my selfe. And these vertues Massanissa I wolde ye

The warkes betwene the
¶ Syphax is brought to the campe of Scipio,
Massanissa sendeth to Sophonisba pouson,
Whiche she wþþoutte feare dynketh.

Capi. ixv.

Van tidisings came into the Ro-
maine campe, of the cominge of
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tives: great was the number of
people that ran to beholde them.
The kinge being bound, was carped for-
most, and after him folowed a great num-
ber of the nobilitie of Numidia. And as
the opinion of men is dypuers, so dypuers
were the tales of the people, ertelling the
honour of the victorye by the myghtye po-
wer of Syphar, and by the nible fame of
the people that was overcome. There
was recounted the myghtye power of the
kyng, to whose maiestie in one day. ii. of
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is to say the Romains and the Carthagi-
nenses. The Romains sent theyr valiant
Emperoure and Capitaine Scipio, one-
ly with. ii. galeis that bare fwe oores on
ewerȝ syde into Afrika, to seke his am-
tie, leauing in Spaine, than his prouince
all

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 254
all his hoste and greate charge. Agayne
Asdrubal, the capitaine of the Carthagy-
nenses, not onelye came into hys coun-
try for amistie, but also he gaue hym hys
daughter in maryage, for the more sure
confyrmation of aliaunce betwene them.
Some rehersed the power and actes of
Syphar to be such, that he had drue Mass-
anissa out of his realme, bringynge hym
to suche extreme calamitie, that hys lyfe
coulde none other wyle bee saued, but by
the bruitc and fame of his death: and he
after gladd to hyde his heade in dennes
or caues, and to live in the forestes and
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With these and such like famous reporte
of the beholders he was brought into the
tente of Scipio: who was by hys pre-
sence and sight much moued with pytyme,
consyderynge the honoure that he of olde
time had knownen him in, and consyfiring
the same to his present misery. Thā Scipio
after salutatiōs made & other cōmant
cation betwene thē had, asked him, what
he wold haue hym to do to him, seyng he
not only refused the amistie of the Romaf-
nes, but also wyllynglie gave them bat-
tayle. To whom the king answered, that
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The warres betwene the

he knewe well, that he had offended, and he confessed, that he was not in his ryght mynde, whan he moued warre agaynst them. He was madde, when he did forget the commyng of Scipio into hys realme, and the bonde of alyaunce that he then made with hym : but speciallye whan he received into his house a matrone of Cartage , of whose hot loue and maryge the fire brondes had al redy set fire in his roiall palaice. That madde and pestilent furie, by hic intisement never ceased, till she had turned his herte and mynde from his olde friendes the Romaines: causing him to pursue the warre against them. Neuer thelesse (sayde he) in all my myserie I haue nothinge that so much doth comforte me, and reyoyle my herte, as when I beholde the same pestilent madde furye now to be entred the house of my mooste enemye.

And whan I consider that Massanissa is no more wyse then Siphar was, but that he more madly, & with lesse temperaunce hath receiued hic, then euer I dyd.

With these wordes of the king, Scipio was not a littell troubled, & then heringe the greate offence layed to Massanissa he sawe good cause, why he shoulde geue credence

Romaynes and the Cartaginases. 255
dence thereto. Consydering the great haile made in the mariage, without the aduise of Lelius, and without abyding his comynge. This acte also seemed wrocole, and moze to be abhoored, consydyryng that he beinge a yonge man in Spaine, was neuer before taken with the loue of any captaine or prysoner.

As he was misynghe hereon, anon Le- lius & Massanissa came vnto hym, whom in open audience hs merylye and ioyfullly received, giuyng them greate thankes and praises for their diligēce in that tourney shewed . But anon: takinge Massanissa alone with hym into a secrete place, he sayd thus vnto hym.

I know right wel Massanissa, that you dyd perceyue some good qualities and vertues in me, whan you fyfste came into Spayne to me, desyryng there my frend shyp and amistie: and afterward in Affrica, whan ye hollye committed youre selfe into my gouernaunce . But at that tyme ye thought youre selfe, that there was no vertue in me, which ye so muche esteemed as temperaunce and contynency: of which also I truly did mooste glory of my selfe. And these vertues Massanissa I wolde ye shoud

The warres betwene the

Houlde soyne vnto other noble qualites
and vertues, wherwith ye are indued.
For belene me, ther is not so much daun-
ger to men of our yonge age by armed en-
nemis, as is by voluptuous pleasure of
oure wanton desyres, whych euer are re-
dy to vanquyshe vs. And who so euer
through temperaunce can brydle and sub-
due those affections, is worthie more ho-
nor, and hath achieved a greater victo-
ry, then we haue nowe had by the taking
of kyng Syphar. The actes whiche ye
haue so valiantly and nobly done in my
absence, remaine daylye in my memory:
the other your euill actes I had leuer ye
did call to remembraunce your selfe, then
that I shold declare them to your great
shame. Syphar, by the good fortune of
the Romaynes, is nowe overcome and
taken. Therfore he, his wyfe, his king-
dom, his possessions, his townes and ca-
stelles, his people, inhabitauntes of the
same, wyth all that euer to Syphar be-
longed, is nowe a praye due to the peo-
ple of Rome. The king and his wife (al-
though she had not bene a citizen of Car-
thage, and although her father were not
the capitaine of our ennemis) oughte to

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be sente to Rome, and there she ought to
abide the iudgement of the senatoures and
people of the citye, so; that she turned the
minde of the king her husband from our
frendshippe, persuading him to take ar-
mour agaynst vs. Therfore nowe ouer-
come your owne affectionate minde, and
beware that with one vice, ye disgrace
not so manye yowre good vertues: and by
one offence, lose the reward and the chan-
kes, whych by your merites ye haue here-
tofore worthely deserued.

With these secrete rebukes Massanissa
was not onely ashamed, but also constai-
ned to wepe, sayenge, that he woulde al-
wayes be at his commaundment. Neuer
the lesse he desyred him, as muche as
micht be admitted, to regarde the faith-
ful promise y he had vnaudislye made
vnto her: whiche was, that he woulde de-
liver her into none other mans handes.
After these wordes, all banished he depar-
ted to his owne tente, where remayning
alone, he syghed & sobbed a greate season
so vehemently, that such as were without
his tent micht easly heare him. At the
laste, makinge dolefull lamentacion, he
called to him one of his faythful & secre-
taryes,

The warres betwene the
feرعاutes, who had the kepinge of his
poyson, accordinge to the vsage of kinges
and princes: who vsed to haue the same
euer kepte nere to them thereby to ouer-
come the incertaintye of fortune: parte
of this poyson put into drinke, he sent by
him in a cuppe to Sophonisba, commaun-
ding him to saye to her, that Massanissa
would (if he had could) gladly haue kepte
his first promise made vnto her, as beco-
meth a man to do to his wyfe, but sens it
lyeth not in his power to perfourme it,
yet wil he kepe his seconde promes made
vnto her, whiche was that she shold not
whiles she were on liue, come into the
daunger of any Romayne. Therfore he
willeth her, to remember the emperoure
her father, and the. si. kinges, to whome
she hathe bene maryed and thereafter re-
garde her owne honour.

When the messenger had presented to
Sophonisba the poyson, and done his
message, she aunswered: I wyll receyue
this maryage gifte, and that gladly, if a
husband can geue no better gyfte to hys
wyfe: But (sayde she) I praye the shewe
Massanissa, that my deathe had not bene
so greuous to me, if I had not maryed so
nere

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses: 257
the goinge to my graue. And without ge-
vinge other sharpe wordes to the messan-
ger, she without feare or trembling, toke
the drinke empoysoned, and dranke it
of.

When this was shewed vnto Scipio,
lest Massanissa, being a fierce yong man,
and takinge this displeasauntly in his
minde, myght do some hurt to him selfe:
he called him vnto him: sometime comfor-
ting him, sometyme gentilly rebukynge
him, soz that he had corrected his fyfthe
folly with an other foolys acte, making
of the thinge more sorowbe than neded.

On the next daye, to the intent he would
put al such fantasies out of his minde: he
ascended to the place of iudgement, why-
ther he caused all his hoste to assemble.

There he fyfthe gave to Massanissa, the
name of a king: & after great laudes and
pryses geuen to him, he also gaue hym
many ryche giftes, as a crowne of golde,
wyth a greate bolle of golde, a chayre of
Iuory, a walking stasse of Iuory, a riche
gowne, wth a cote of bawdekyn, vsed to
be worne in signe of victorye. And to set
the matter forth to his further honoure,
he declared, that in any triumph at rome
after

The warres betwene the
after any victorye, hadde of theyz enne-
myes, no man could weare any more no-
ble apparaile then this, whiche he hadde
gauen him. Sayeng also, that of al strau-
gers the citezens of Rome iudged onely
Massanissa worthy to be presented wyth
those gyttes . Then called he forthe
Lelius to whom he also gaue great pray-
ses, and rewarded him wyth a crowne of
golde. And after he rewarded other his
souldours, according to theyz deserteis.
By this gentle handelinge and honoure
gauen to the kinge Massanissa , his trou-
bled minde was pacified: and he was put
in hope after the death of Syphar , to be
ruler of all Numidia. Then Scipio sente
Lelius to Rome, wyth syphar and other
prysoners, wyth whome also wente the
ambassadours of Massanissa, and he af-
ter theyz departyng, wente agayne to
Tunisse , where he encamped his
hostie, and soortified the place, ma-
kinge an ende of the workes
whyche he before had
begunne.

Lelius

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Clelius wyth kyng Syphar and other pryso-
ners, and the ambassadours of Massanissa,
came to Rome , Massanissa is made
kyng of his realme of Numi-
dia. Capt. lxvi.

He Carthaginenses, hearynge
of the taking of syphar in whō
they had as much trust, as they
hadde in Asdruball and hys ar-
mye: began then to be fayne harted.
Wherfore sens they knewe no further
helpe in the warre, they sente. xxx. of the
moste noble senatoures of theyz citye to
Scipio, to intreats of peace. These aucti-
ente noble men, so sone as they came in-
to the pavillion of the Pretoz before Scipi-
o, of a flatteryng faction they fell pro-
strate to the grounde , and then made an
humble and a flatteryng oration, not
purginge their selues and theyz citye of
theyz offence, but layeng the beginninge
of all the defaulte in Anniball and his
adherentes. Despyng to haue the citye
pardoned of this offence, sines they trusted
that the Romans would not despise theyz
destruction, but that they woulde be con-
teined with their humble subission as of
people

The warres betwene the
people ouercome, whiche would be glad
to obey to any thinge that he shold com-
maund them to do. To whom Scipio an-
swered that his comminge into Affrica
was vpon trust, to retourne home agayn
to Rome with victorye, not to conclude
peace, whyche his hope, fortune also fa-
vouring, had much aduaunced by prospes-
rous successe. Neuertheles (said he) nowe
haninge the victorye almoste in my han-
des, yet wil I not refuse peace, to thintet
al men may knowe, that the Romaynes
do iustly both begin & ende theyz warres.
And these shalbe the condicions of youre
peace. Ye shall restore vs all youre pris-
oners, & our fugitiue runaways. Ye shal
remoue youre armies oute of Italie and
France. Ye shal forbear to meddle anye
more in Spayne. Ye shal departe from al
the iles which be betwene Italie and Af-
frika. Ye shall delauer vs all your longe
shippes, excepte only xx. Ye shal gyue vs
of wheate. v. C. v. bushelles, of barleye
ssi. C. v. bushels, of money, v. v. talents
And three dayes respite I do give you
(sayde he) to seke your advise, whether
these condicions of peace please you or
not. And in case ye be contented wyth
them

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with them, ye shall haue truce of me, and
sende your ambassadours to Rome to the
senate, for a confymacion of the same.

The Cartthaginenses, myndyng onely
to tracte the time till Anniball wyth his
power might come into Affrica, thought
they would refuse no condicions of peace,
that were demaunded to be done for their
partes. Wherefore they sente some lega-
tes unto Scipio, to take truce, other they
sent to Rome, to aske peace, leading with
them certaine prisoners and fugitiues for
a colour, to the entent they myght there-
by the better obteigne peace.

Then were these newes publyshed a-
broke in the citee, which caused great joy
and gladnes.

Whyles these thinges were working,
Lelius with kyng Syphar, and other no-
ble men prisoners of Numidia, wer come
to Rome. Where he declared to the sena-
tors by order all thinges which had ben
done in Affrica, to theyz gracie comforfe
and also hope of good end of that botage.

Sone after were the ambassadours of
Massanissa broughte into the senate.
Where syzze they sayde, they were glad
and joyful, that Scipio hadde noblye and
happily

The warres betwene the
happilly sped in Affrica, to the no smal con-
forte of the senate , and also of the citee of
Rome: Than dyd they geue thankes soz
that Scipio had not onely geue to Massa-
nissa the name of a kynge , but also had
made hym a kynge, restoringe hym to hys
fathers kingdome, if it were the pleasure
of the fathers of the senate . Thyzdlye,
that it pleased Scipio, not onely to geue
great praises to Massanissa openly, but al
so that he had gyuen hym greate giftes,
whiche to deserue he hathe and wyl dyl-
gently indeuour him selfe, desyryng that
the sayd name of a kynge, woth other the
beneficial giftes of Scipio, might be com-
firmed by the decree of the senate : And
furthermore they sayde, that if it myghte
stand with theyz pleasure, Massanissa de-
syred them, to send vnto him certayne pris-
oners of Numidia , whiche were kepte
in pylon at Rome : by the restorynge of
whom, he shuld purchas much honoꝝ and
loue among the conimunes of the country.
To these their saynges and demaundes,
it was then answered by the senate , that
the prosperous actes of Scipio , doone in
Affrica, were as much to theyz conforte,
as to the kinges . And that the honoure
and

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and the giftes, whyche Scipio had gyuen
to Massanissa , were well bestowed , and
according as he had wel deserued: whiche
his actes they all dyd ratifye and allowe,
Besydes whiche his giftes, they also sent
vnto Massanissa the kyng , by them, dy-
uers other presentes of apparayle , mete
to be worne both in the tyme of peace and
of warre.. Furthermore , the embassa-
dours of the kinge were honourably re-
warded. The prisoners also of Numidia,
at theyz deliuerye & sendynge home , had
certayne apparayle gyuen them. And thus
plentifully enriched, they had al departed
towardes Affrica , hadde not the newes
of the coming of the legates of Cartilage
caused the senatours to staye Lelius and
them all for a season , to tarye their com-
ming, bycause the communication of the
peace with them, shold be in presence of
Lelius.

¶ Mago is discomfited by the Romaynes, and
wounded, of whiche wound he dyeth, Anni-
bal by the commaundemente of the senate
leaueth Italye , and sayleth towarde
Cartilage, makinge greate dools
for his departing. Ca. lxvi.

The warres betwene the

¶ the same Sommer whiles these thynges were wrought and decreed in Africa, and at Rome, Quintus Marcius Marcellus, than beyng Praetor, and Marcus Cornelius, beinge Proconsull in the costes of Lombardy, had battayle with Mago the brother of Anniball, whiche was earnestly fought on both partes: and had not the Romayne horsemen sodenely triuaded the footemen, soze fightynge, and broken they arraye, it hadde bene lykely to haue tourned the Romaines to the worse. But after the arraye was broken, they were faine to recule: And Mago so wel handled hym selfe in the reculynge, that soo longe as he abode unhurt, he desended his company, and caused them to recule in good order and arraye. But at the laste he was soze wounded, and fel to the ground, and with peins was borne out of the fielde aliyue. After whose ouerthowre hys people fled on all partes, whereby many of them were slayne. He loste at that battayle aboue. v. viii. men. And the Romaines escaped not free: for they also lost their aboue. vi. viii. viii. men, with many captyaynes

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 268
that bare offices of honour. The night before these thynges were wrought and decreed in Africa, and makyng as greate hasty tourneys as his wound wolde suffer hym, he camme to the sea costes of Liguria, where he founde the messangers of Carthage, that fe fe dayes before were arrived, and here abode his cominge. They message was, that with as much sped as myghte be shuld hie him to Africa, & that hys brother Annibal had also lyke commandement by other messangers to do the same certifying him that the state of Carthage was not now such, that they were able to kepe styl both Italy and Fraunce by force of armes. Mago partly moued by the commandement of the senate of Carthage, partly fearyng lefft his ennemis, pursuing him, might by his longe tariyng do further displeasure: Againe, trusing on his way homewardes to be better relieved and cured of hys woundes: he with sped put his company into shippes, and departed. But he had not passed the Ile of Sardins, but he dyed of his maladie. After whose death, divers of his shippes, being beaten with the stormes of the sea, were taken by the nauy of the Romaines that

The warres betwene the
that laye the same tyme about Sardinia.

All this yere Annibal, and Cn. Herui-
lius the consul, lay both with their hostes
in the parties of the Bruttians, withoute
anye memorable battaile betwene them
soughten. And than came the legates of
Carthage vnto him, calling hym home to
Carthage to theyr succours, whose mes-
sage he hearde rovinge and lamentynge,
and with peine could he soz bearre weping.
And after a paule he sayde: Nowe they
openlye call me backe, that before couert-
lyz imagyned to fetche me from hense,
in that they denyed soz to sende mee mo-
ney and menne of warre, to supplye the
roumes of such as lacked.

Wherfore I would all men dyd knowe,
that the banquishyng nowe of Anniball
is not by the people of Rome: but by the
senate of Carthage, throughe desperte
and enue. And of this my shamefull re-
tourne, Scipio wyl no more resoyce, than
wyl Hanno of Carthage, the olde enne-
mie of my whole familie.

After greate doolefull mone made, he
toke the sea hym selfe, and his chiese men
of warre, wyth shypes therefore prepa-
red: leavyng certayne unproffitable soule-
dyours,

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dyours, as a defence of suche small for-
tresses as remayned than in hys possesi-
on, more for feare than for any good wyl-
l; saythe.

It hathe not lyghtly bene sene or hard
of, that euer man departed from hys coun-
try(beynge exiled there fro) wyth more
beauynesse, than Annibal departed from
the countrey of his ennemis. Ful often,
whan he was on the sea, he loked backe
towarde the sea costes of Italy, accusing
bothe the goddes and also men, ye & cur-
syng hym selfe, for that he after hys victo-
ry at the battaile of Cannas, had not in
continent brought his fierse and bluddys
knights to the takyng of Rome. Thus
bewaylinge his euyll fortune, he leste the
possession of Italy, whiche he had kept the
space of xvi. yeres after that he fyft pa-
sed the mountaynes of the same.

¶ Annibal arryuet in Africa, and desyre-
reth to speake wyth Scipio, whyche he
grauntech hym, and therepon they
mete at a place appoynted.

Cap. lxvii.

polos

The warres betwene the

Nowe was. Dr. Fulcius Sillo, the legate of Scipio come to Rome, with the ambassadours of Carthage, to requyze peace of the fathers of the senate. But the senatours would not suffer them to enter the citye, but appoynted them to abyde wyth out the walles. The senatours soone after satte in the house of Bellona, whither the Carthaginēses legates were brought and there made an oration, muche like to the other, whiche they before made unto Scipio, layenge all the blamē from the common counsayle vnto Anniball: sayeng: that he, without the consente of the senate of Cartbage, passed both the mouaynes and also the riuier of Iberus, making warre not onely to the Romaines, upon his owne will and pleasure, but also to the saguntines. Where the mynde of the senate of Cartbage was euer, to kepe the league & amitie inviolate which was taken before with the Romaynes. In conclusyon they declared, that the summe of theyz charge genen theym, to desyre of the senate of Rome, was, that they myghte continue in the same leage and condicions of amitye and peace with the

Romaynes and the Carthaginēses. 265
the Romaynes, as were before at the last truce taken wyth them by Luctatius, the beyng consult.

Then divers of the auncient senatours of Rome, whyche were presente at the league taken by Luctacius, demanded sundrye questions of the legates of Cartbage, concernyng the sayde condicōn of peace contayned in that league.

Whereto they, beyng all yong men, aunswere, that they were not of age to remeber that treaty. This aunswere was greatly suspected of the fathers.

Wherfore they sayde with one assente, that the Carthaginēses, accordyng to theyz olde accustomed craste and falsehode, had chosen suchē embassadoures to requyze a peace to be renued, whereof they had no knowledge nor remēbrance.

Wherupon the legates were caused to auoyde the place, whiles they counsayled vpon the matter. And after longe deliberate discussinge thereof, Lelius and Fulcius declared to them the opinion of Scipio, touchinge this peace, whyche was, that he did not mislyke the meanyngē of the Carthaginēses, in case they did not sende to call home Anniball and Hago

The warres betwene the
out of Italpe: but if they so dyd, than he
thoughte they would dissemble the mat-
ter vnto their capitaines compnge wþt-
succours, and afterward forgetting theyz
promise, would renewe the warre. Upon
these wordes the whole counsaille agreed
to the sayenge of M. Valerius Leuinus,
who sayde, that they were to be taken as
espies, and not as ambassadoures, & that
they shoulde be commaunded to auoyde I-
talpe, hauing guides sent with them, to
conducte them vnto theyz shippes. And
that woode shoulde be sente to Scipio, to
procede in the warre as he had begunne.
¶ Soone in the meane space, whiles the
legates of Scipio and of Carthage were
at Rome, Cn. Octausus, with ii. C. ship-
pes of cariage, & rr. other long shippes,
to guyde them, passed from Sicilia, to go
into Affrica: but the windes were so ve-
hemente, & the stormes so importunate,
that he with the long shippes with paine
saued hym selfe in a porte neere to the
mountayne of Apollo. The other hulkes
of cariage were driven to diuers places
on the coate of Affrica, in the syghte of the
men of Carthage. The Carthaginenses
perceyning this great paze easy to be ta-

ken

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 284
ken, forgetting theyz desyre of peace, and
also the time of truse taken with Scipio,
(yet mention of them both was made to
them by certaine of the citye) they by hole
assente appointed Asdrubail, with fiftye
shippes to gather together, and to bryng
home those seabeaten and disparrled ship-
pes, with al that was in them. At whose
coming the shypmen fled away, leauyng
theyz vesseles, and he without any resy-
stance drewe them with him to carthage.
Scipio consideringe this their acte to be
done, before the legates were retourned
from Rome, or that they knewe what
answere they shoulde receyue, eyther of
warre or of peace, also seinge the time of
truse was not yet expyred: tooke it to be
much more heynous and displeasauns.
Soone after this breake of truse on the
parte of the Carthaginenses, arriued Le-
lius and Fulvius, with the legates of
Carthage, to whom Scipio, declarynge
theyz vntrewe dealinge, commaunded
them to departe, and he wþt all speedes
prepared for the warre.
This yere following were chosen Con-
sules, M. Herilius Geminus, and T.
Claudius Nero. Herilius was appoin-
ted
p. n. ii.

The warres betwene the

fed to Hetruria, as his prouince: & Claudius Nero to Affrica. He had ordeyned fyftye good shippes, wherelwyth he and his hoste shold passe into Affrica, where he shold be equall ruler with Scipio.

Nowe was Anniball with his armye, arrived safe in Affrica, and by land came to Zama, ffeue dayes tourneye from Cartage. From thens sente he spyes before hym, to knowe the state of the Romayne campe & armye. These spyes by chaunce happed on the skoute watche of the Romaynes, and were taken and brought to Scipio. Who demaunded of them the cause why they capitaney sent them thither. They aunswered, to espye and to haue knowleedge of his army and order. Then Scipio called certayne of his capitanes, called tribunes, commaundynge them to go with the spyes of Anniball, & to conduct them through al his campe; not fearing to shewe them, what so ever they desyred to see: When they had gones rounde aboute a longe season, and were brought agayne to him, he demaunded of them, whether they had well accordaninge to theyr mindes, viewed his campe and hoste. They sayd yea. Then sayde he: Go

ye to

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 267
ye to Anniball, and make to him relation of that ye haue seene. Thus let he theym departe, sendinge with theym guydes to conduct them out of daunger.

The spyes, when they came to Anniball declared unto him howe Scipio had intreated theym. Besides that they shewed him, that Massanissa the same daye was come to Scipio, with. vi. M. footemen, & iiii. M. horsemen. But ther was nothing that ever they tolde him, so much abated his courage, as the libertie that he gaue his espies, to viewe his order and power. For that great boldenes of his enemy, he judged and knewe well proceded of some great assuraunce y he had in his strength and good order. Wherefore althoughe he him selfe was the first cause and occasion both of the warre & also of the truce breakinge: Yet he deuised him selfe to speake with Scipio, thinkinge before anye batayle, whiles his power was not assayed he shold obtaine peace with more easye conditions, tha he shold, in case it chanced him to be overcome. Wherefore he set a messenger to Scipio, desiringe that he might haue libertie to speake with hym, & that he would appoynte a place, whereon they might come together. Scipio refused

The warres betwene the
not to accomlyshe his desire. The place
was appoynted, voyde of all deceytle and
gyle. Ther came the iij. most noble ca-
pitaines of the world, hauing onely eche
of them one interprætour with him, to de-
clare to eche other, what shold be spokē
by thē. Theyz hostes abode a good space
from them. When they were come toge-
ther, eyther of theym was astonied with
the sight of the other. So that as persons
amased throughe admiration, they spake
no wordes of a good season. At the laste,
Annibal began to speake in maner folo-
wyngē.

The witty oration that Anniball made
to Scipio, before the battayle be-
twene them. Cap. ixix.



If it be geyen me by the fa-
tal fortune, þ I which firste
moued this warre agaynst
the people of Rome, & that
so many times haue had the
victorye ouer them, shold nowe of mine
owne voluntary will come to be a suiter
to haue peace: I am gladdē, that it is thy
chaunce to be the man appointed of the
goddess, of whcm I shoulde come to re-

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 282
qure the same peace. And among manye
other praises, that be geuen unto the, this
may be as one of the greatest: That An-
nibal to whom the goddes haue geuen so
many victories of the Romane, shoulde
nowe geue place & obey unto the. So that
thou maist make an ende of this notable
warre, that hath bene betwene vs, as yet
more to your losse thē to ours. Agayne
what worke is this of fortune, þ I which
first fought with your father, being con-
sul, in armes w̄ baners displayed, shoulde
nowe come to his sonne unarmēd, so to
sue for peace? I woulde it had pleased the
goddess, to haue geuen such honest hearts
to our fathers & predecessours, that they
would haue bene contented with the do-
minion of Africa, and to your fathers to
haue bene contented with the empire of
Rome, For if we make a true reckyning
neither Sicilia nor sardinia, be a worthy
recōpence of þ manifold nautes, armies,
and noble capitaines that we haue loste,
throught our proude contention. But it is
easyer to synde fault w̄yth thynges that
be passed: then it is to amende the same.
And for our partes we haue so coueted o-
thers dominions, that at length we have
bene

The warres betwene the
not to acc̄m̄plis̄ his desire. The place
was appoynted, vnyde of all deceytle and
gyle, wher came the ii. most noble ca-
pitaines of the world, hauing onely eche
of them one interpr̄etour with him, to de-
clare to eche other, what shoulde be spokē
by thē. Theyz hostes abode a good space
from them. When they were come toge-
ther, eþher of theym was affouied with
the sight of the other. So that as persons
amased throughe admiration, they spake
no wod̄e of a good season. At the laste,
Annibal began to speake in maner solo-
wynge.

The witty oration that Anniball made
to Scipio, before the battayle be-
twene them. Cap. lxix.



If it be geuen me by the fa-
tal fortune, þ I which firste
moued this warre agaynste
the people of Rome, & that
so many times haue had the
victoþe ouer them, shoulde nowe of mine
owne voluntary will come to be a suffer-
to haue peace: I am gladde, that it is thy
chaunce to be the man appoynted of the
goddes, of whom I shoulde come to re-

guyze

Romaynes and the Carthaginenes. 262
qure the same peace. And among manye
other praises, that be geue unto the, this
may be as one of the greatest: That An-
nibal to whom the goddes have geuen so
many victories of the Romane, shoulde
nowe geue place & obey unto the. So that
thou maist make an ende of this notable
warre, that hath bene betwene vs, as yet
more to your losse thē to ours. Agayne
What worke is this of fortune, þ I which
firste fought with your father, being con-
sul, in armes w̄ baners displayed, shoulde
nowe come to his sonne unarmēd, soz to
sue for peace: I woulde it had pleased the
goddes, to haue geuen such honest hearts
to our fathers & predecessours, that they
would haue bene contented with the do-
minion of Africa, and to your fathers to
haue bene contented with the empire of
Rome, For if we make a true reckyning
neither Sicilia nor sardina, be a worthy
recþpence of þ manifolde nautes, armies,
and noble capitaines that we haue losse,
through our proude contention. But it is
easier to synde fault wþt thynges that
be passed: then it is to amende the same.
And for our partes we haue so coueted o-
thers dominions, that at length we haue

The warres betwene the
bene sayne to syght for our owne. We
haue for oure parte not onelye warred in
Italye, but also so farre aduaunced oure
hoste and power, that at the verye gates
of Rome, ye haue sene our standers and
men of armes. And in like maner we of
Carthage haue bene within the hearyng
of the noyse of youre Romaine campes
and armye. Nowe by youre good fortune
communication of peace is had betwene
vs, whyche we of reason shold least care
for. And ye for your partes shold chyese-
lye desyre. And we nowe intreate thereof
Whom it mosst behoueth to make peace.
Consyderyng, that what so ever we two
agree vpon, oure cytyes wyll ratifye and
confirme.

Wherfore there lacketh nothyng in vs,
but quiet mindes and peaspable hertes.
And so, my parte mine age vpon my re-
turne into my countrey from whence I
came forthe but yonge, with the tymes
sometime changing to prosperity, some-
tyme to aduersiti, haue so taught me that
I can be better contented, to folowe rea-
son thē brittle fortune. But I feare gret-
ly lest thy youth and thy perpetual felici-
tie, ingēder in the such a fiersenesse, that

thou

Romaynes and the Carthaginases. 267
Thou wylte not regarde quyet counsayle.
No man shall so aduyledye consyder the
vncertaine chaunces of Fortune, as he
that hathe ben deceiued by fortune: as I
was at the battaile of Trasymenus and
at Cannas, so art thou nowe beyng but
a yong souldour of age, made a capitaine
the fyfth day. Thou beganste all thynges
with a bolde and a stout courage, and for-
tune never fayled the, through thy desyre
to renenge thy fathers and thine uncles
death(wherby all your familie was al-
most brought to extreme calamitie) thou
hast purchased the a noble fame. Thou
hast received Spaine that was before lost
dryuinge from that countrey. iiiij. notable
armies of the Carthaginenses, that be-
fore dyd possesse the same. Afterwarde be-
inge made consull, when other men lac-
ked hertes to defende Italye, theyz owne
countrey, thou tokest on the to sayle into
Affrica: where slaying two great hostes,
and in one houre takynge and burnyng
two riche and stronge campes: And after
the taking of the mighty kynge Syphar,
with manye cityes and castelles of hys
realme, and of oure empire of Carthage:
at the laste thou hast nowe plucked mee

from

The warres betwene the

Frome the possessyon of Italye : whiche
these xvi. yeres I haue with strong hand
kept and enjoyed. Now hauninge all these
prosperous chaunces , it is lyke , that
thy mynde maye be more desirous of vic-
tory, then of peace . And truelye I haue
knowen yours and suche lyke hertes and
courages, to be euer more great and vali-
aunce, then wylde & profitable. The daies
also haue bene , that fortune dyd in lyke
maner shynge brighte and smile vpon me.
But if the goddes wolde geue vs in pros-
peritte good and right mindes: we wolde
not onely consyder thinges that haue hap-
ped, but also what myghte happen vnto
vs. And settynge all other exaumples a-
parte, I my selfe may be best a document
of lerning vnto the, for all kyndes of for-
tune. I had not long agone mine host en-
capred betwene the ryuer of Amenes and
the citie of Rome, and displayed my ban-
ners before the walles of the citie: Nowe
after the losse of my two bretherne which
were full good and noble capytaynes , I
am here to succour mine owne troule and
sore vexed countrey, glad and desyrous to
praye that mine owne citie maye be deli-
vered from the daungers , where with I
assayled

Romaynes and the Carthaginens.

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assayled then youre citie. Let no man put
to much confidence in high and swellyng
fortune. Better it is, and moze certayne,
to be sure of peace, then to hope for victo-
ry. The one thou hast now in thine owne
handes: the other is in the hande of the
goddes. But not the felicitie , whyche in
many yeres thou hast atteigned, into one
houres ieopardy. Cal to thy mynde, bothe
thine owne power, and the power of for-
tune: which in warre is common. On both
partes, be men and weapons of warre.
And consider , that chaunces be variable
in all our assayres, speciallye in battaille.
And in case thou vanquishe vs in battaille
thou shalt not winne so muche glory and
profite, aboue that thou mayst haue of vs
by peace: as thou shalt lose in case fortune
turne agaynst the . For in one houre for-
tune may ouerthrow, that in longe space
hathe bene gotten , and also that is los-
ked for, which ye trust to haue. Now it is
in thy power , to ioyne all thinges toge-
ther by peace . P. Cornelius . But if it
come to further tryall , we muste bothe
take such fortune as the goddes wyl send
Amonge other exaumples of feloyette,
Marcus Attilius may be wel remembred
for

The warres betwene the
for one, who arryued here in this same
country of Africa, and winnaynge the
victorie vpon our forefathers the Cartha-
ginenses, denied to graunte them peace,
whiche they instantlye required of him.
But at the last, for that he could not mea-
sure his felicitie, nor moderate Fortune,
that so highlye aduaunced hym: therefore
hys fall was the fowler, by how much he
was the more higher cleuate in prosperi-
tie. It belongeth not to hym that asketh
peace, but to hym that giueth peace to ap-
pointe the condicyns of peace: But we
knowlegynge our defaulte, wyl appoynte
to oure selues condygne punishmente for
the same, not refusyng to leauue unto you
the possession of such countreys for which
the warre began, as Sicilia, Hardinia,
Spayne, and all the Iles within the sea,
betwene Italye and Africa. And we of
Carthage; being contented with Africa
onely(sense it hath so pleased the goddes)
wyl suffer you to enioye the Empyre of
dyuerse straunge countreys and dominys
ons, gotten both by sea and by land. Per-
aduenture in the askyng of peace hereto-
fore ye haue not bene plainly and iustlye
delte withall, whiche causeth you to my-
struste

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 269
truste the fasthe and promyse of the Car-
thaginenses. But therin, as touching the
obseruunge of peace when it is taken, it is
much, to be considered what the persones
be, by whomz the peace is requyred. For
as I haue harde it tolde Scipio, youre fa-
thers heretofore denied the Carthaginem-
ses peace, for that the persones that came
to intreate therof, were of small dignitie
or estimacion. But now do I Annibal re-
quire peace, which I wold not desyre, on-
lesse I thoughte it profytale, and for the
same profyte that I doe demaunde it, for
the same wil I also styl kepe and conserue
it. And as I haue endeuored my selfe that
no man shoulde forethinke him of the war
begun through mine occasion: in like ma-
ner shal I no in enforce my selfe that none
shall repente of the peace, whyche I shall
take. His oracien finished, Scipio made
him there vnto this aunswere.

¶ The aunswere of Scipio to the oration of
Annibal, wyth the battayle therupon had
betwene them, wherin Annibal was
vanquished and put to flyght.
Cap. lxx.

Innew right well Annibal, that the truste of thy coming home, made the Cartagynenses to breake the truce betwene vs taken, and also to lette all further hope of peace. And this thou doest not denie thy selfe: but thou nowe withdrawest from vs all thynges that we require, and were also graunted in that treatyse of peace, saue onely those countreis, wherof we haue alredie the possession. Whersore as thou doest laboure, that thy citezens may fele of what burthen they be dischar ged by the: so must I trauayle, that noo parte of that, whiche they haue promy sed me, shall be nowe withdrawn, for to remaine vnto them as a rewarde of theyr vntrouth, consyderyng the same theyr vntroeth, hathe made them vnsorthye to haue the condycyons of peace before to theim offered . Neyther dyd our father syrst make warre for Sicilia, nor we now for Spaine: But than the dangier, wher in the Hamertines oure frendes and fel lowes were put into and now the destruc tion of Sagunt, caused vs iustly to make war. That all hath bene by your prouoca tion,

Romanes and the Cartagynenses. 270
tion, thou haste confessed thy selfe. The goddis also be witnesses, who gaue such ende to the firdie warre , as of right it behoued to haue. And in this war haue gya ven, & I doubt not, but wil giue like end. As soz my part, I consider well, bothe the infirmitie of man , and the power of fortune: & I know, that all our actes be sub ject to a. M. chaunces: But as I do know ledge that in case thou woldist haue come to desire peace of me before I tolke so great trauayle , to come into Affrica , and that thou haddest with thy good wyl departed with thine army out of Italy, if I had the denied thy request, I might wel haue been fudged , to haue wroughte prouedelye and stubburnelv: Euen so nowe after that I haue drawnen the and thy power home into Affrica, where thou arte redy to make vs resistance: And seyng that a peace and truce was ones taken, which ye haue bro ken, takynge oure shypes wyth force in time of truce, and violating our embassa dours, I may right wel with honour, bid you prepare for the warre, sens you could not hold you contented with peace, whan ye had it.

Thus without any agreement of peace,

The warres betwene the
the. ii. capytaynes brake of theyr commu-
nicacion , and departed euerye one to hys
company, determining to trie the matter
by battaile and to take sache fortune as
the goddes wolde geue theim.

As sone as they were come into theyr
campes, they openly on both partes gaue
commaundemente to theyr soldyours, to
make them redy to fight nowe theyr laste
battaile, whereby in case they dyd ouer-
come, they shuld haue felicitie, not for one
daye, but for ever . For before the nexte
night, they shuld know, whether Romis
or Carthage shuld haue the superiورtie.
And that not onely of Italy or of Affrica:
but of all the wold, which shold be a re-
warde nowe to him, that shold haue the
victorie. On the contrary part, the parell
and seoperdy was no lesse declared to that
part, whiche shuld haue the worse in this
battaile. For the Romaines had no place,
whether to flie, beyng in a straunge coun-
try. And to Carthage muste nedes come
an vffer destruccion, in case this their last
armie of refuge were vanquisched or ouer-
thrown.

In thys greate jeopardie on the nexte
daye the. ii. valiant capitaines of the two
mose

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 271
most noble and richest people, sette forthe
with their .ii. mightie armes: intending
that daye, eyther to increase the honour,
whiche before they hadde gotten, or els to
be ouerthrown and lose all. Hope and
feare were myngled bothe together in
their mindes . And when they saw theyr
owne battaile, and the battaile of theyr
enemies : they conceived in theyr mindes
bothe ioye and sorowe. And that that the
soldyours fayled to remember theyr ca-
pitaines declared vnto them, with greate
warninges and exhortacions . Anniball
reherced to his people all theyr actes done
in Italie: howe many Romaine capitay-
nes, and howe manye armies they hadde
slaine . Scipio shewed hys conquestes in
Spaine, and also of late in Affrica, wyth
the confession of his ennemys, that they
for feare were constrainyd to require
peace althoughe theyr vnlouth woulde
not suffer them to kepe the same , whan
they had it. Wherfore he gessed, that the
goddis had appoynted them to fyghte in
this bataile, with lyke successe, and luke
as they had whan they foughte at the ple
of Egates. Now(sayde he) all war & tra-
uaile is at an end. The spoile of cartage

The warres betwene the
is even at hande, after whyche ye shal re-
tourne home into your countrey, to your
parentes, youre wifes, youre chyldren,
and your owne goodes. These comforta-
ble wordes he sette forthe, wyth such ge-
sture of his body, and meri countenaunce
as though he hadde alreadye hadde the
wycto rye of his enemyses. Afterwarde
he putte his men in order. Fyrste, his
spearemen, then his chiese and mosse as-
sured footemen, not in great multitudes
together before anye standarde, but in
small bandes, whyche shoulde be a cer-
taine space dystaunte the one from the o-
ther, to the intent the elephantes of their
ennemyses might come betwene the sayd
bandes, and be receyued of theym: wyth-
out breakynge anye arraye. In these
voyde spaces betwene the sayde bandes,
he appoynted dyuers of his lyghtest har-
nayled souldours to stande to fulfyll the
voyde places, commaundyng them, that
when the Elephantes passed on theym,
they shoulde recule behinde the sayde ban-
des whiche were in array, or els to keppe
in among those that went before the stan-
derdes on the ryghte hande, or on theys
lefte hande, geyninge waye to the vnrulye
beastes

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 272
beastes to enter amonge his men, whiche
wyth weapons they myghte be wounded
and ouerthowen. The leste wyng ledde
Lelius with the Italian horsemen. The
ryght wyng ledde Massanilla wyth hys
Numidians.

Anniball on the other parte, in the fore-
fronte of his battayle, sette his elephan-
tes, whyche were to the number of. lxxx.
After whom he put in order all suche na-
tions as were hyred, or came to his suc-
courage, as Liguriens, frenchemen, & men
of the Iles called Baleares, nowe called
Maiorque and Minorque, mingled amog
a great numbre of Moores. In the second
battaile he set his Carthaginenses, with
the Asfricaines, and the legion of the La-
cedemonians sent thither to the succours
of the Carthaginenses from philip king
of Macedonie. And wythin a littell space
of from theym, he placed the Italians,
whyche came with him, when he leste
that countrey. The winges were of
horsemen. The left wing held the Numi-
dian horsemen. The right winge was of
the Carthaginenses. In this host of Ann-
iball wer me of diuers nations & cuntrieis
of diuers tylnges & languages, they were
also

also differente in lawes, armoure, and in apparayle. To every one of these he gaue sundrye and diuers exhortations, eyther of feare, or of confort. To such as were come to his succours he promised greate rewarde of the praye, whiche shoulde be monne by theyz industrie and trauayle. To the Liguriens he promised a plentyfull rewarde of the fertile and pleasaunt fieldes in Italye. The Mozes and Numidians he exhorted to do well, for feare least they shoulde els be in greuous seruitude of Massanissa. The Frenchemen were set on by the naturall hatred, which they bare to the Romayns. The Carthaginenses he put in remembrance to fight for the walles of theyz natural countrey for their proper goods, for the sepulchres of their elders, for theyz chyldyn, theyz parentes, and trembling wiues. There is no meane waye (sayde he) nowe to be put betwene hope and feare. For eyther must we suffer miserable servitude, after the destruction of our citye and countrey, or els obteyne the empyre of al the wold. By that time this nob'e capitaine had finished his wordes, the Romaines blewe up their trumpettes and hoynes, making

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 273
so terrible a noyse and clamoure, that a great numbre of the elephantes beyng furious, turned backe upon theyz compaニー, spectally upon the lefft wyng of the Mozes and Numidians. Whiche perceiued well Massanissa, wherefore he also invaded the same wyng myth his horsemen, puttinge them to suche feare, that they fledde, leauing that syde of the hoste bare of succoure. Divers of the Elephan tes by force were constrained to entre the middle battaile, to whom anone the lighte armed souldours gaue place, sufferynge them to enter amonge them, where they were thruste in with speares and Janeylins, so that many were there slaine. During this while, Lelius with his horsemen assailed the right wing of the horsemen of Carthage, puttinge them also to flight, so that the body of the hoste was of both sides lefft without defence of horsemen, the wings being chased away: thā began the battel of footemen to be strong on both partes. Great were the cries that were there made: but the romaynes were of better courage, of stronger hope and of more strength. Wherefore in a short space they caused their enemies to geue backe a cerayne

The warres betwene the
certayne space of ground. And when they
had ones gotten some ground, they with
theyz shieldes and targets came stil thun-
ding on their enemies, bearing the back
till some lone after the first battayle, tur-
ning theyz backes, began to fye, & came
to the second battayle of the Carthagin-
ses and Moores : who woulde not suffer
them to enter, least they shoulde cause all
theyz araye to be broken. Therfore be-
twene them & their felowes began great
debate and slaughter: so that the Cartha-
ginenses were constrainyd to syght, both
with their owne vruly felowes, and also
wyth the Romaynes theyz ennemys.
Neverthelesse they would in no wyse re-
ceyue theyz felowes that fled in amonge
them least they should mingle that feare-
full sorte, which in the flyght were hurte
and wounded, amonge theym that were
earnestlye bent to syght: whiche mighte
haue turned much moe to theyz dysplea-
sure. But drusing them away by heapes
compelled theym to go together, some in-
to the one syde of theym, some abrode the
fyeldes. Great was the occision that was
made of them, in so muche that the Ro-
maynes coulde not come to syghte wyth
the

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 274
the Carthaginenses: but syrste they must
with payne go ouer the deade bodies of
them that were slayne. Then Scipio cau-
sed a trumpet to be blowen, to withdraw
his men of the syrst battayle, who hadde
vne soze trauyled, and manye of theym
were soze wounded. These caused he to
stand behinde the rerewarde, & made the
same rereward of his best men to auaunce
forwrad vpon the Carthaginenses. The
began the battayle newe agayne: whiche
was very soze and fierse. For then came
the Romaines to the most assured & stron-
gest me, and most expert in warres, who
before beinge vanquished twylle, were
nowe lothe and ashamed to be vanquished
But the Romans were farre mo in num-
bre, and had taken to theym a great con-
rage by drivving away both the wynges,
and also the forewarde of theyz enne-
mies.
Whiles they thus fought in the seconde
battayle, Lelius and Massanissa retour-
ned with their horsemen from the chace
of the wings of the Carthaginenses, and
with all their power and vviolence came
on the backes of the seconde battayle of
the Carthaginenses whyche were busye
and

The warres betwene the
and valiantly fought. Then were they
not able to endure their violence, but were
wyth force put to flyght and slayne on all
partes. There were that daye slaine and
taken of the Carthaginenses aboue .xl.
M. men. Many Elephantes, and manye
standers of noble menne were taken in
that battaile. Great also was the pray of
the spoile found in the campe, whiche all
the Romaines toke and brought to theyz
shippes. The Romanes also loste at thys
battel aboue .xl. M. men. Anniball, wyth
a fewe with him, fledde to Adrument.
But he never departed from the feild, til
he had both in the battaile and before, al-
sayed to do as muche as was possible for
to be done, for the safegarde of his people
Wherin he that daye had praise both of
Scipio, & of al other expert men of warre
of the Romans: specially for y orderinge
of his battel. For first he set in y forefrot
his great number of elephantes, whose
great strenght & intolerable violence shuld
breake the array of the romayns, putting
them out of order, which is halfe the win-
ning of a battaile. Then set he foremoste
hys hyred souldyours of dyuers nations:
to the entente, suche a confused noum-

b

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 277
ber of strangers (who fought for no great
faith or loue, but onely for money) shoud
haue no place nor tyme to flee from the
battaile. Also to the entente suche straun-
gers shuld endure the fyrest violence of his
ennemis, makynge them very & weake,
before his chiese men of most trust shoud
haue any thinge to do. Then after theim
were his Carthaginenses and Africans
his most trustie souldyours. Laste of all a
good space behinde them, he placed hys
Italians, as people whom he knewe not
well, whether they shoud be his friendes
or his foes. Thus when all his pollicye
wolde not serue him, nor yet his strength
coulde helpe, he fled (as I sayde before) to
Adrument: and from thense he was sente
for to come to Cartilage. Wher he
came the .xxxvi. yere after his depariyng
from thense, being but a chylde. Therein
the open assemble of the noble men of the
citie he confessed hym selfe to be van-
quished: and that there was none
other hope of safegarde for
them, but by obeyning
of peace.

The

The warres betwene the
and valiauntly fought. Then were they
not able to endure their violence, but were
wyth force put to flyght and slayne on all
partes. There were that daye slaine and
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a fewe with him, fledde to Adrument.
But he never departed from the feild, til
he had both in the battaile and before, as-
sayed to do as muche as was possible for
to be done, for the safegarde of his people
Wherin he that daye had praise both of
Scipio, & of al other expert men of warre
of the Romans: specially for y orderring
of his battel. For first he set in y forefrot
his great number of elephantes, whose
great strenght & intollerable violence shuld
breake the array of the romayns, putting
them out of order, which is halfe the win-
ning of a battaile. Then set he foremost
hys hyred souldyours of dyuers nations:
to the entente, such a confused noum-

b

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 277
ber of strangers (who fought for no great
faith or loue, but onely for money) shoud
haue no place nor tyme to flee from the
battaile. Also to the entente suche stran-
gers shuld endure the syxt violence of his
ennemis, makynge them very & weake,
before his chiese men of most trust shoud
haue any thinge to do. Then after theim
were his Carthaginenses and Africans
his most trustie souldyours. Laste of all a
good space behinde them, he placed hys
Italians, as people whom he knewe not
well, whether they shoud be his friendes
or his foes. Thus when all his pollicye
wolde not serue him, nor yet his strength
coulde helpe, he fled (as I sayde before) to
Adrument: and from thense he was sente
for to come to Carthage. - Whither he
came the. xxxvi. yere after his departyng
from thense, being but a chylde. Therein
the open assemble of the noble men of the
cittie he confessed hym selfe to be van-
quished: and that there was none
other hope of safegarde for
them, but by obteyning
of peace.

The

The warres betwene the

The condicous of peace graunted to the
Carthaginenses by Scipio: and the rati-
fying of the same by the senate.ca.lxxi

And Scipio and his hoste were
comming to hys shippes, laden
with a riche praye, worde was
brought him that P. Lentulus
was arrived at Utica, wyth l. shypes of
warre, and an. C hulkes laden wyth alt
maner of prouision.

Wherfore Scipio, thinkinge, to put the
cittie of Carthage in feare on all partes:
Fyrst set Lelius to come, to beare newes
of his victorye: And then sente Cn. Octa-
nius by land toward Carthage, with his
army of horsemen and foteinen. Whiles
he, taking with hym beth the newe nauy
of shypes, broughte him by Lentulnes,
and also his olde nauy, went by sea from
Utica towardes the hauen of Carthage.
He had but a while sailed on the sea, whē
a shyppe of Carthage met hym, couered
all with white linnen clothe, and full of
bowes of Olsue, in token of peace. In
which shyppe were r.embassadours of the
princes of Carthage, sente by the mynde
of Anniball to desyre peace . When
this

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this shyppe was come to the fore parte of
Scipios shippes, the couerynge was taken
away, and the legates righte humbly re-
quired him to extend his mercie and pitie
upon them. But other answere had they
none giuen theim, but that they shoulde
come to him to Tunes, soz to that place
he said he wold remoue his campe. With
this answere they departed, and he went
with his nauye of shypes before Car-
thage, partly to dwelle the situacion of the
towne, partly to make the inhabitantes
therof the more afraide. But after small
sojournyng there, he departed frō thense,
and retourned to Utica: And from thense
was goynge to Tunes, when sodeyne
newes were broughte him, that Verrina
the sonne of Syphar with a great noum-
ber of horsemen & foteine, was coming to
the socours of the Carthaginenses. To
encounter with these people, Scipio in-
continent sent a good part of the foteinen
of hys hoste, & all his horsemen, who me-
ting with them, at theyr fyre reencoun-
tre put them to flight, and stoppinge the
passages, wherby they myghte by sleinge
escape, they slewe of the Numidians. xv.
¶ and toke aboue xi. C. and with peine
the

the capitaine hym selfe escaped, hauyng a
small number with him. From thensle the
campe was pitched at Lunes, in the olde
place, where they before had set it, Thys-
ther came. xxx. noble men of Carthage
Embaſſadours, ſente unto Scipio, who
with much more lamentacion then the o-
ther hadde done before, required peace of
Scipio conſtrained more therunto through
the contraraytie of Fortune, and by the
late ouerthrow of their friend Gernina:
And they were lykewyſe herde with leſſe
pitie, because of theyr late untrueth and
rebellion. In ſomuch that it was thought
by moſte men, that the citie of Carthage
might then iuſtly and worthely be deſtro-
ed by them. And ſo had it ben in dede, had
not one thinge ſpecially moued Scipio to
the contrary. Which was, that the newe
consul was comming thyther, whose de-
ſire was, to haue the honour and fame of
that victorij, and of finiſhing that warre,
which was befo're achiued by Scipios tra-
vaille, to his great daunger.
And for thiſe cauſe Scipio and hys coun-
ſalours were fuli minded to take pece
with the Cartaginenses. Wherefore the
nexte daye he called the legates of Car-
thage

thage beforis him, greatly rebuking them
of the untrueth to him diuers times ſchol-
ed: Wyllinge them now at the laſt, being
taughte by good expeſience, to regarde
bothe theyr goddes and theyr othes, and
the winge them, that he, hauijge pycie of
the deſtruction of them and of their too
noble a ritee, was contented to graunte
them peace upon theſe condiſons. First
that they ſhuld lyue free after their owne
laues and cuſtomes, employnge all ſuche
cities and townes in Africa, as they had
in poſſeffyon before the warre betwene
them taken. And that from that day forth
the Romaines ſhould no moze deſtroy or
ſpoyle any parte therof. Agayne the Car-
thaginenses ſhuld reſtore to the Romaines
all ſuſhe persons as were ſlied and turneſ-
away from the Romaines, and al the pry-
ſoners of the Romaines, and their fren-
des, whome they had in captiuitie.
Also that they ſhoule deluer them all
theyr ſhippes of warre: and other ſhippes
excepte onelye galleys, hauijge thre o-
ders of ores in a pycie. And that they
ſhould also deluer vp all theyr Elephan-
tes, whyche were alredre tamed and
maide apte for the warre: nyþher ſhoulde

The warres betwene the
they after tame anyc more. Agayne that
they shoulde moue no warre in Africa,
nor without Africa, but by the lycence or
commaundement of the Romayns.
Furthermore, that they shoulde restore vnto
to Massanissa al such thinges as they had
taken of hys, makynge a peace and a-
grement with him. And also yelde vnto
the Romaine host wheate and wages vnto
to the returne of the legates from Rome.
Besides all this, they shuld paye r. M. ta-
lentes of syluer in fiftie yeares: duryng
whiche tyme, they shoulde yarelye paye
that summe, deuyded in euēn porcyons.
For the paymente wherof, and perfour-
marince of these condicions, they shoulde
deliuer him an. C. pledges of his owne ex-
ection. Wherof none shoulde be vnder
thage of. viii. yeres, neither abone thage
of. xx. Upon these condycyons, he agreed
to geue them truce: so that they wolde de-
liuer to him out of hande al suche hulkes
or shippes of burthen, with their freighte
and implemetes, whiche the Carthagyn-
enses toke from them, during the laste
tyme of truce, that he had before graun-
ted them: or elles they shoulde neither loke
for truce nor peace.

Whan

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Whan the legates were come to Car-
thage, they were commaunded to declare
the same condicions of peace openlye be-
fore the congregacion of the people there-
vnto asembled. Agaynste whiche condic-
ions one Gisgo, a noble man of Carthage
spake very soze, and wold haue dissuaded
the people from the takinge of peace. To
whose saynges many of the vnruley mul-
titude gaue good audience. But Annibal
being therwyth greatly moued, wente to
him, & with force drewe him dolone frane
his place. Whych his violente facion had
not ben vsed before in that citie, and was
thought of dyuers to be contrarie to thi
liberty of theyr citie: where before al peo-
ple had free libertie to speake theyr opinio-
ns: Anniball beyng vsed to the facione
of the warres, more than to the peaseable
tyme of the citie: remembryng the libertie
thereof, excused his rudenesse in this ma-
ner. Whan I departed from thyss citie,
I was but. x. yeres olde, whych is now s
xxvii. yeres agone: duryng whiche tym
I haue suffiently knownen and bene in-
structed in al feates of war, being taught
by the chaunces of fortune, euen from
my chyldehoode. Wherfore beinge dys-
sed

The warres betwene the
dysfused so longe space from the lawes,
maners, and customes of the citye, al-
though I do forgette the liberties & usses
thereof, I am the lesse to be blamed.
Thus after he had excused his follye, he
perswaded the people to the takynge of
peace, and howe necessary it was nowe
for theym, and also howe reasonable the
condicions were, considering their preset
estate. To whyche his perswasions the
greatest parte of the multitude agreed,
and the resyters against it, were greatly
blamed. The greatest doubt was, howe
they myght make restitution of that that
was taken from the Romaynes in the
tyme of the truce. For all was spoyled
and gone, neyther knewe they, who had
theym, onelye the shippes and hulkes re-
mainned.
But in conclusion, worde was sente a-
gayne to Scipio, by the same legates,
that they woulde receyue his condicions
of peace. And where they could not
knowe, who hadde the goodes that were
in the hulkes, they would paye therefoze
at his owne iudgement. The vesselles
and men should be restored.
Thus was the truce geuen to the citys

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of Carthage for three monethes, wyth a
commaundement, that duryng the tyme
of truce, they shoulde sende embassadours
to no place, but onely to ROME. And in
case that anye embassadours were sente
frome anye place to Carthage, that they
shoulde in no wyse depart from thens, un-
till the Romayne capitaine were ascer-
tayned what they were, and what was
the cause of theyr comynge.
Soone after went the legates of Car-
thage to ROME: with whom were sente
C. Aeturius Philo, M. Martius Balla,
and Lucius Scipio, brother to P. Scipio
the Romayne capitayne.
When they were come thither, L. Aeturi-
rius Philo declared, howe Scipio hadde
foughten wyth Anniball, and ouercome
the Carthaginenses, to theyr vicer con-
fusyon, making nowe an ende of the dole-
full longe warre, that has bene betwene
the Romaynes and theym. And that also
Termina, the sonne of Syphar, with his
power, was beaten and ouercome. Of
whiche newes the senauctor being ner-
vaylous ioyfull, commauisid him to pub-
lyshe the same gladde tidynges to the
hole multitude of the citezens.

P.P.

The

The warres betwene the

Whd making great ioye , gaue thankes
for the victory to the goddes. Then were
the legates of Carthage brought into the
senate. And when the senatours behelde
the age, the dignite, and the graustye of
the ambassadours (who were of the most
noble men of the citye of Carthage) then
they iudged, that they intended playnely
and sincerelye to entreate of peace.
Among other of these nobles of carthage
there was one Asdruball, called Hedus,
one of the chyfe of theim, both in aucto-
ritye and in nobilitye: who was euer de-
syrous of peace, and helde muche agaynst
Anniball and his affinitye. This Asdrub-
ball sayde, that a fewe covetous persons
of the citie were culpable for this warre,
and not the comminaltie. Some faultes
whyche were layde to theym, he excused:
some other he confessed, least by the den-
eng of all, he myght be the worse herd of
the senate. Then he perswaded the sena-
toures to vse theyr prosperous fortune
gentilly, and in due temperaunce, proses-
sing euer, that in case the Carthaginens-
ses woulde haue folowed the mindes of
hym, and of Hanno , takynge the tyme
when it was offered : that they had bene
the

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the gyuers to other of peace, vpon such
conditions as they were nowe gladde to
take at others handes. But (sayd he) it is
but seldome seene, that good fortune and
a good minde be genen bothe at ones to
men. The cause of the conquesſes of you
Romaynes euer chyfelye hath bene, for
that in prosperity ye haue had the reme-
braunce to consult of thynges to come.
And youre empyre hathe beene moze en-
creased by gentylnes and fauer Shewynge
to nations, whome ye haue vanquished,
than it hath bene by the victoires gotten
of them.
After that Annibal had finished his ora-
tion, the other ambassadours made much
more lamentable propositions ; beway-
linge the miserable fall of the state of the
Carthaginenses, who being the greatest
lords in honour of the world, wer nowe
constrayned to abyde enclosed within the
walles of the citie, hauing nothing els,
that they myghte clayme properte of.
Yea, and that same onlye citie they helde
but vpon the goodness and forbearynge of
the Romaynes, whyles they pleasure
was , to forbear the bitter destruction
therof. Whyth these humble and gentyl
wordes,

The warres betwene the
wordes, the senatours vniuersallye were
fully inclined to peace. Then one of the
senatours spake oute with loude voycer
If peace be graunted to the Cartaginenses,
by what goddes shal they sweare
and make peace, when they haue broken
promise, & deceived the goddes, by whome
they sware, whē they last toke peace with
vs? To whom the sayd Asdrubal answe-
red, eue by the same gods wil we sweare
who be so angry, and are reuenged on vs
that brake our lal truse and leage. Here-
upon al the senatours and the commons
being inclined to peace, determined, that
by the advise of .r. legates of Rome. P.
Scipio should make with them the peace
vpon suche condicions as to him seemed
best. The legates were named, & made
them redy to depart with the Cartaginenses. For the whiche the ambassadours
gave great thankes to the senate, of their
goodnes to them selves: belyng them
before theyr departinge, to licence them
to entre the citye, and to visite certaine of
their frendes and kinsmen, that were
kept in the citye, as prsoners, whch re-
quesse was graunted them. And they de-
sired also, that they might redeeme divers
of

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of them vpon reasonable rausome. They
were commaued to wryte the names of
suche as they would haue received. And
they named. ii, C. of them, who incou-
nente were deliuered to the. r. legates
to take with them into Affrica to Scipio
willing him, in case the peace wente for-
wardes with the cartaginenses, that
then he shold render these. ii. c. prisoners
to the Cartaginenses, free without pay-
enge anye rausome. These thynges be-
inge so concluded, the Cartaginenses,
wyth the Romayne legates, departed to-
wardes Africa. And when they came to
Scipio, they concluded a peace wyth him
vpon the condicions before spected. The
shippes of cartage, the elephantes, the
fugitives and prsoners, to the number
of. iiiii. M. were deliuered to Scipio: a
monge whom was one Terentius Cul-
lio, a notable senaour of Rome. The
shippes, vpon the deliueray of them, were
had forth into the sea, to the number of. v
c. of al sortes: and there by the comauant
ment of Scipio, were set al on fyre.
Whch burninge was as sorrowful a sight
to the cartaginenses, as if they had seen
the whole citie of cartage on fyre.

Scipio

The warres betwene the
Scipio returneth to Rome wþt great
triumphe and ioye of all the peo-
ple. Capit, lxxii.

Hus ended the warres between
the Romaynes and the cartha-
ginenses, more gentilly than it
was thoughte it shoulde haue
done. For Scipio divers times after re-
ported, that the covetous and hygh mind-
syþt of Claudiuſ Nero, and after of Cu.
Cornelius, desprynge both the honour of
the victoriye of Carthage, was the cause
that the citye of Carthage was not vter-
ly destroyed and wasted.

After the sayd peace thus taken, the mo-
ney whiche shoulde be presentlye payde to
the Romaynes was very greuous to the
Carthaginenses. Whose stocke and com-
mon substaunce was before greatly wa-
sted by reason of the long continual war-
res. Wherefore at the leuyeng of the sayd
summe of theyþ p̄suade substaunce, great
lamentacion and weeping was made in
the citye. Whiche Anniball beheldynge,
could not forbeare to laughe. Whereat
Asdrubal Hetus toke great indignation
rebukyng him, for that he (being the ve-
rye

Romayne and the Carthaginenses. 172
rye originall cause of all theyþ sorowe)
in the common mournyng of the citye,
shoulde so laughe. Thereunto Anniball
aunswered: If ye myghte beholde the in-
warde thought of my mynde, as ye maye
the outward apparente countenaunce of
my face, ye shoulde perceyue this laugh-
ter not to come of any ioye of the hearte,
but of a madnesse and a frenesye. Ne ver-
thelesse this my laughter is not so inor-
dinate, nor cometh not so out of tyme, as
youre teares do. For you shoulde haue
wepte, when youre armoure was taken
frō you, & your shys bourned before your
eyes: & when your liberty of making war-
res with any straunger (but onely by ly-
cence of the Romaynes) was taken from
you, wherin rested your chiese vndoing
and greatest fal. But ye sele no hurt one-
lesse it touche your priuate wealth.
The great herte of the common wealth
ye neyther sele nor regards. When your
ennemis had the great spoyle, after the
victory had, and when Carthage remay-
ned alone, and naked without armour or
defence, amonge so manye armed men of
Aſfrica: then no man wepte nor mour-
ned. But now, when ye must pay the tri-
bute

The warres betwene the
buse of your owne p[ri]uate goodes, every
man wepeth, as ye would do at the bury-
eng of al your frēdes. I feare it soze, that
ye shal shortlye perceyue, that you wepte
now in your least harmes, and the worst
to be behinde.

When the peace was thus concluded, be-
twene the Romaines and the carthagin-
enses, Scipio callinge his people toges-
ther, besides that he restored vnto Massa-
nissa, his fathers kingdome, he also gaue
him the citye of Cytha, and other tow-
nes and groundes that he had wonne of
Syphar. Afterward he caused Cn. Octa-
vius, to deliver to en. cornelius, the newe
consull, his nauye that he broughte into
Sicilia. Then caused he the embassadours
of Carthage to go towards ROME, there
to haue all thinges confyrmed by the au-
torite of the senate, whiche he by the au-
torite of the Romayne legates had be-
fore concluded with them.

Thus al thinges being at peace, both by
sea and by lande, he with his armye tooke
Syppinge, and sayled ouer into Sicilia,
and from thens into Italye, where he
was met by the mē of the countrey with
great honour and loye: so glad was eu-

rye

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ry man both of peace and of victory. The
pore men of the townes and cities by the
ware as he wente towarde ROME, ranne
forthe to se him, and to prayse him. Thus
in greate honoure came he into ROME,
Where he was received into the city with
great summes of gelde and syluer, of the
pryses that he had taken, besyde that he
distributed amonge his souldiours. xl. M.
li. And of the conquesse, whyche he hadde
made in Afrika he was called Scipio Af-
ricanus ever after, to the great honoure
of all his familie and succession.

Aniball flieth by sea to Antiochus kyng of
Stria, Antiochus moueth warre to the Ro-
manys, L. Cornelius Scipio sayleth in-
to Asia, fygtheth wþt Antiochus,
vanquisheth him, graunteth
him peace vpon cordicions
and returneth to rōme.
Cap.lxxiiii.

After the warres thus ended in
Afrika, the Carthaginenses
continued in peace a certayne
season. At the last the enemies
of Aniball to wozke him displeasure, sent
woþd

The warres betwene the

Hooarde to Rome to the senate, that Anniball had pryuely sent messangers and letters to Antiochus the kyng of Siria, mōuyng him to warre with the Romaynes. And also that messangers were sent with letters secretelly from Antiochus to Hanniball. Certifieng them further, that the mynde of Hanniball was suche, that he could neuer be contented, tyl he harde the sounde of harness upon mennes backes. The Romaynes beinge angrye thereat, sent legates thither, C. Herullias, Cladius Marcellus, and Terentius Cullos, to try, whether the informacion to them made, were true or no: Conaundyng the to publishe abrode, that the cause of theyz cominge was: to here and determine certaine matters in controuersy which were betwene the Carthaginenses & the kinge Massanissa, & none other. This tale published by the, was beleued to be true of the common people: But Hannibal therwith rould not be blinded, he knewe full well, that he onely was the cause of theyz coming. Wherfore thinking for a season to geue place, till the tyme myghte better serue hym, he wyth. if. other departed out of the citte in y beginning of the night in

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a straungers apparaile, ai. came to a place, where he before had apointed hys horses to mete hym and from thense with sped he wente to a castell of hys owne by the sea syde, where a shipp of Italye aways fed for hym, appoynted for the same purpose. In which shipp he sailed from Africa and arryued the same daye in the Ile of Circina, makinge more dole all the waye for the harde chaunces that were happed to hys countreye, then he dydde for hys owne euyl fortune. In the hauen of Circyna he found many shypes laden wylth marchandise, and at his landyng, great resorte of people of the ile came vnto him, saluting hym, and making of his cominge greate ioye. Anniball fearynge, leste some of those shypes in the night shold depart from the hauen, and shew in Africa, that they hadde sene hym in Circyna: He deuysed to make a soleinne sacrifice, and a great feast, to the whiche he had all the maysters of the shypes that were in the hauen, and all the marchaunes that were in the same. And so: that y wether was very hot (being about the myddes of sommer) he caused al y sailes of the shippes, woth the crosse mastes, whervnto y sailes be

The warres betwene the
be fastened, to be all brought on lande.'
Wherwith he made pavilions and bous-
tiers, to defende them from the vehement
heate of the sonne, while they soupeo on
the shore. The feast was sumptuous, as
the tyme myghte serue thereto, and was
kept very solempnely. There was wyne
great plenty, wherwith many were drun-
ken and heuy headed. The bankette was
also purposely prolonged, tyll it was farre
in the night. Then fell the marchautes
a slepe, with the maryners also. Whiche
Anniball espynge, thoughte he had then
good time to mocke them, and taking his
shippes, secretly departed, leauyng them
faste on slepe. On the morowe, when the
maryners arose with heuys heades, they
caried theyr sayles and other tackelinges
agayne to the shippes, preparynge al thin-
ges redy. But so they myghte bryng al
to passe, they spente a good parte of the
nerte daye.

On the morow after the departinge of
Anniball from Carthage, hys friendes,
that vsually resorted to his company, af-
ter that they could not finde hym, nor here
of hym, they gathered a greate multitude
of the citie together in the market place,
inquirynge,

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Inquiryng, if any newes coulde be shewed
of the chiese ruler of theyr citie. Some co-
nected, that he was fled away for feare
of hys conspiracie against the Romayns.
Some other sayde, that the Romaynes
had by some crafte traine conspired hys
death. Thus lyuers were the tales, ac-
cordaninge to the ouerlyke of sectes that
were in the citie. Tydylges sonne after
was brought hither, that he was sent af-
ter Circina than the Romayne legates o-
penly in the senate of Carthage, sounde
greate lacke, and blamed greatly the ci-
zens and rulers, for sufferinge hym to de-
part, consideringe the priuye letters and
messages that were lente betwene hym
and Antiochus, sayngs. That he wolde
neuer be satisfied, tyll he had moued war
through all the world. The Cartaginen-
ses excused them selues, assyning, that
they were nothing priuye nor consenting
to his departinge.

Dow was Annibal arriuued at Tyrus,
wher he was receiued honourably, and
with great ioye: and there he soiorned cer-
taine daies. From thense he sayled to An-
tiochus: who was in great doubt before
his comminge, in what maner he shoulde
magne

The warres betwene the

Mayntene his warres agaynste the Romaines. The kynge was greatly comforted by the meane of his comyng, & also by the being ther of the embassadours of the Etholiens: who the same tyme were departed frō the amitie of the Romans. He was determined to moue warre, for he woulde be not to certayne condycyons of peace, that the Romayns prescribed vnto him. Which he thought shuld be greatly to the losse both of his honour and also of hys dominions. For they wold haue caused hym to leaue the possession of certaine cities, that he had. And also that he shuld not medle in Grece: but howe and where he shuld moue this warre, he was not determined. Hanniball was greatly in hys fauour, & chiefly for that he thought hym an experte man & a mete counsayloure in his affaires against the Romaines. Hannibal euer was of the opinion, y he shuld make warre in Italye, for that the countrey of Italy is able to furnish an army of bytayles and all thynges necessarie, & also of scouldours, if he shoulde haue nede of men of armes at any tyme. But(sayde he) yf no warre be moued in Italye, so that the Romaynes may haue all thz hole po-

wer

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 286

Wer thereef, to make warre in other regions out of Italy then is there no prince nor nacion of the worlde able to withstand the Romaynes. Wherefore if ye wyll de lyuer vnto me one. C. of shypes of war, and. xvi. thousande footemen, wyth one thousande of horsemen: I wyll with that power sayle into Africa, trustyng to cause the Carthaginenses to rebel against the Romaynes. Or in case they wyll not follow my request: yet wyl I inuade some parte of Italy, and moue war to the Romaynes. Then maye you (sayde he to the kyng) with all the reste of youre power, saile into Europe, kepyng your armie in Grece, redy to set forwards as ye se caute

This his counsaile was wel allowed of the kyng: wherupon one Ariston, an Ephesien, a wyse and a trusyte man, was chosen to sayle to Cartage, to the frenches of Hanniball, with priuie and special tokens by meuthe, whyche they knew were true and not fayned, to shew vnto them his purpose. For wyxinge dursle he sende none, for feare of taking of the messangers. His message only was to be declared vpon crecence.

But whyle Ariston went on his message and

The warres betwene the
and therin hadde no good sped: the am-
bassadours of ROME were come to Ephes-
sus, to know of Antiochus, the cause why
he intended such warre agaynst the Ro-
maynes, among whiche ambassadours
it was sayde that. P Scipio, called Afica-
nus was one. Whiche ambassadours ha-
ving knowlage, that the king Antiochus
was a lyttel before gone againste the Pi-
sidians, and fynydng Anniball there: they
dyuers tymes resorted vnto him, and had
familiar communication with him: one,
lye to the intent to make bym a good opi-
nion of the Romaynes, and not to my-
truste, that anye thinge was intended by
theim agaynst him. Among other com-
munication betwene the ambassadours
and Anniball, it is remembred, that Scipi-
o demaunded of hym, whom he iudged
to be the mosse noble capitayne, that euer
he knew or heard of, to whome Anniball
aunswered, that it was Alexander of Ma-
cedony: for that he wyth a small power o-
uercame so manye nacions, and vanquy-
shed so manye greare armes in battayle,
trauelling so manye straunge and far coun-
trays, whiche passed the power and wytte
of mans compasse. Then Scipio demaund-

dēd

Romaynes and the Cartthaginenses. 287
ed of hym, whom he iudged to be the se-
conds most noble capitayne. He aunswere-
red Pyrrhus, which was the mosse wylle
and expert man in placinge his campes,
in fortifyeng his fortresses with watche
and warde, and in geiting the heartes of
men vnto his obeylaunce. In so muche,
that when he warred xi Itaie, the Ita-
liens were gladder to be vnder his go-
vernaunce beinge but a straunger, than
vnder the dominion and power of the
Romaynes. When demaunded Scipio
whom he thought to be the thyrd: Which
but sayle (sayd he) it is my selfe. At which
aunswere Scipio laughed and sayd:
What wouldest thou then haue sayde, in
case thou haddest overcome me in battell,
as I have done the: Truly (say de Anniball)
then woulde I haue put my selfe be-
fore both Alexander and Pyrrhus also.
This aunswere seemed to Scipio verye
straunge and prouide, wherby he minded
to take from Scipio all his glorie.
Duringe this longe tarieng of the Ro-
mayne legates at Ephesus, nothyng els
was wrought, but that the often meeting
and communication of them with Anni-
ball, made the kyng more to suspecte
R. q. and

The warres betwene the
and misstrust him. Whereupon he was
no more called to his counsayle.

Againe, one Thoas an Etholien, desy-
rous to haue the kinge, with all hys po-
wer, to arriuie in Grece, without parting
of the same his strength, sayde vnto him:
Syr, the great citye Demetrias, and the
more part of all the cities in Greece, loke
dayly for your commynge thither. And a-
gainst your arriuayle, ye shall see all the
country assemble on the sea syde, so sone
as they maye by watches perceyut youre
nauyes commynge on the sea. And as
touchyng the partynge of your shypes
and power: that I can in no wise allowe
And in case ye were mynded so to do, An-
niball of al men is most vnmete, to haue
the rule and gouernance therof.

Syr, ye must consider (sayd this Thoas)
that Annibal is a Carthaginens, and an
outlawe or banished man frō his countrey
Whose crafty witte will imagine a, M.
newe deuyces even as fortune doth vary
or as it shall fall into his brayne. Againe
if it shoude chaunce, that Annibal lose
his nauye, or his men to be vanquished
The losse wil be no lesse, then if any other
captayne had lostt theym. But in case it
should

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 288

shoulde happen hym to haue the victorie,
the honur therof shal wholy abyde with
Anniball, and not wþt Antiochus.

Furthermore, if fortune so well serue
that Anniball vterlye subdue the Ro-
maynes, what wyll ye than thinke, that
he will continue in youre subiectioun,
whiche in his countrey coulde not suffer
him selfe to be in any obediencie? Saye,
(sayde he) he that in his youth hath euer
coueted in his minde, to be emperoure of
the hole world, wil nowe in age never be
contented, to be vnder the rule of anye o-
ther if he may chose. Wherfore my coun-
sayle is, that ye haue no neede to make
Annibal your capitaine: But if it please
you ye may vse his company as your frend
in your iourney taking his advise in your
affaires, as a prudense counsaylour, and
none otherwyse. This crafty & vntrewe
counsayle of Thoas, tourned the kynges
minde cleane from sendinge of Anniball
wþt any army into Affrica: Whiche be-
fore was thought most nice & necessary.
Inherfo; he prepared to sail into Greece,
where by the helpe of the Etholiens he
wanne certaine cities. At the last the con-
sul M. Attillius with an army of Romanes
came to the socours of theye frendes, and

The warres betwene the
and misstrust him. Whereupon he was
no more called to his counsayle.

Againe, one Thoas an Etholien, desy-
rous to haue the kinge, with all hys po-
wer, to arriuie in Grece, without parting
of the same his strength, sayde vnto him:
Sir, the great citye Demetrias, and the
more part of all the cities in Greece, loke
dayly for your commynge thither. And a-
gainst your arriuayle, ye shall see all the
countrye assemble on the sea syde, so soone
as they maye by watches perceyut youre
nauyes commynge on the sea. And as
touchyng the partyng of your shypes
and powre: that I can in no wise alowme
And in case ye were mynded so to do, An-
nisball of al men is most vnierte, to haue
the rule and gouernaunce therof.

Fyrst ye must consider (sayd this Thoas)
that Annibal is a Cartaginens, and an
outlawe or banished man fro his countrey
Whose crafty wytte will imagine a, m.
newe deuyfes even as fortune doth vary
or as it shall fall into his brayne. Againe
if it shoude chaunce, that Annibal lose
his nauye, or his men to be vanquyshed
the losse wil be no lesse, then if any other
capitayne had loste theym. But in case ic

Shoulde

Romaynes and the Cartaginenses. 288
Should happen hym to haue the victorye,
the honcur therof shal wholy abyde with
Annibal, and not wyth Antiochus.
Furthermore, if fortune so well serue
that Annibal vitterlye subdue the Ro-
maynes, what wyll ye than think, that
he will continue in youre subiectioun,
whiche in his countrey coulde not suffer
him selfe to be in any obediencie? Saye,
(sayde he) he that in his youth, hath euer
coueted in his minde, to be emperoure of
the hole wrold, wil nowe in age never be
contented, to be under the rule of anye o-
ther if he may chose. Wherfore my coun-
sayle is, that ye haue no nede to make
Annibal your capitaine: But if it please
you ye may vse his company as your frend
in your iournes taking his advise in your
affaires, as a prudente counsaylour, and
none otherwyse. This craftye & vntrewe
counsayle of Thoas, tourned the kynges
minde cleane from sendinge of Annibal
wyth any army into Africa: Whiche be-
fore has thought most nete & necessary.
Inherfor he prepared to saile into Grece,
where by the helpe of the Etholens he
wanne certaine cities. At the last the con-
sul M. Attilius with an army of Romas
came to the socours of they frendes, and

The warres betwene the
at the greate mountayne whiche passeth
throughe the middle of Greece, soughthe
wyth Antiochus, and put him to flyght,
sleyeng al his hoste, excepte onely v.han-
dred which fled wyth the king.

After whiche discomfiture, Antiochus
with Anniball, and his smal nombre of
men that were lefte him at the battayle,
came to the sea, & toke shippynge & came to
Ephesens, where he remayned, thinking
him selfe there to be sure out of the daun-
ger of the Romayns. And that he was
perswaded to beleue, by many that were
aboue him, gladde to please his minde:
as many such dissemblers haue bene and
shal be dapyly about great prynces. But
only Annibal aduysed the kynge, to pre-
pare for the commyng of the Romaynes
sayeng that he maruailed more, that they
were not alreadye arriued, rather than
they; comming might be loked for. Shew-
yng hym also, that the Romaynes were
as stonge and valvaunt upon the sea, as
on the land. Not doubtinge but shottelye
they would sryue for the dominion of A-
sia, and that eyther he muste take frome
them their empire, or els he shoulde be in
daunger to lose his kingdome. For he
knewe

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 285
knewe, they; desyre was to be rulers o-
uer al the wold, Coulayling him to loke
for none other thing at they; handes.
For in case he dyd, he shoulde deceyue him
selfe with his batyne and false hope.
Not longe after this beginning of the
warres in Greece, L. Cornelius Scipio,
and C. Lelius were chosen consules.
After whyche election, P. Scipio Afric-
anus offered the senate, that in case thes
would graunt his brother, L. Scipio the
country of Greece for hys prouince: he
would gladlye take the payne to go wyth
him in his iourney. Whereunto the se-
nate agreed, geuyng him also further
auctorite, to go into Asia, if he thoughte
it expedient, sayenge, they would nowe
proue, whether Antiochus shuld be more
holpe by the counsaile of Annibal, which
was before vanquisched: or the Romayne
consull and his army by the helpe of Scipi-
o, that had before made the greate con-
queste in Africa. The armes & shippes
were made readye, & the consull arryued
in Grece where sone receyuing many the
rebel cities into his handes, he fro thense
sayled into Asia: where by the licence of
the king Philip, he had passage throught
Mace-

The warres betwene the
Macedony and Thrace, to the kingome
of Antiochus.

Divers battayles were fought vpon the
sea, betwene the Romayne nauy and Pa-
lirendas, capitayne of the kynges shypes
but euer the Romaynes had the victorye
by the helpe of the kyng Eunenes, and
also of the Rhodienis. At the last it chaun-
ced, that the sonne of Scipio Africanus
was taken prisoner, and brought to An-
tiochus, who kepte him honorablye and
gentilly. And afterward, trusyng to haue
the frendshyppe of Pub. Scipio, and hys
helpe, for a peace to be made betwene the
Romaynes and him: he sente hym home
his sonne, withoute paynyme anye raun-
some for hym. For whe he perceyued the
Romaynes to approche neare vnto hym,
he thoughte it better to common of peace
before the battayle, then after, trusyng
to haue more easye condicions of peace,
if it were moued in tyme. But when the
matter came in communication, betwen
the Consult and the kynges embassa-
doires, the condicions of the peace were
so sore that Antiochus refused to take
them althoughe he were therunto per-
suaded by the letters of Pub. Scipio the
affricane.

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 390
Affricane. Wherewppon bothe partyes
prepared them to fighte. The battayle
was cruel, but at the last the kyng Antio-
chus was put to flight, &c. iiiii. M. of hys
footeemen slayne, and of horsemen. iiiii. M
besydes. i. M. and. iii. C. that were taken
prysoners, wþ small losse of the Ro-
maynes. Then sente Antiochus esfones
his embassadores to the consul for peace
whiche at lengthe, by meanes of. P. Scipi-
o Africanus, was graunted him, vpon
these condicions.

Fyrste that he should from thenselvþ
no more make war in Europe. Also that
he should leauue the possesyonis of all the
cityes landes and countreyes, whiche
were on that syde the mountayne, cal-
led Taurus. Agayne, he shoulde paye
the Romaynes fystene thousande talen-
tes in .xxi. yeares, and to paye vnto kyng
Eunenes .iii. hundred talentes, and a
greate quanitye of wheate. Upon
these condicions he shoulde haue peace.
þrouded that Hannibal, the authour
of hys warre, wþ Thoas, and diuers
other captyynes & coursaylours, myghte
be despycted vnto hym.
The kyng, beyng at this extreme mis-
chese,

The warres betwene the
chese, receiued the peace vpon the sayde
condycions : and put in for the perſour-
maunce thereof pledges. The ſame peace
also was after that confirmed by the ſe-
nate of Rome.

And ſo all thynges thus proſperuſlye
brought to paſſe. L. Scipio the conſull re-
tourned to Rome, who was receyued in-
to the citie with greate honoure and tri-
umphe. And as his brother, of his victořy
in Africa was named aſſicanus: ſo was
he of his conqueſtes in Asia, called Aſiati-
cus, to the honoure of hys ſucession euer
after.

Annibal flieth to Pruſias, the kyng of Bre-
thinia, and how he ended hys lyfe.

Cap. lxxviii.

Annibal, after the batall begon
betwene the Romayns & Antiochus, wherin he was vanqui-
ſhed and fledde miſtrustyng (as
it folowed after) that the kynge of neceſſi-
tie muſte be dypuen to take peace, in whi-
che he feared, leſte the Romaynes, bea-
rynge to hym moſtall mallice, wolde re-
quye hys delivery: thought to prouide for
hym ſelue in tyme.

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 291
Wherfore he incontinent fled to Pruſias
then kyng of Brethinia. He had not longe
tarped there, but that. L. Quintius Fla-
minius was ſent from Rome to the king
þewing him, that the ſenatours thought
he dealte not ſryendly wyth them, to kepe
in his realme they: great and capytal en-
emy Annibal: a man that made firſt his
owne countrey to make warre with them,
to the vffer vndoinge of the ſame, and
from theriſe came to antiochus, and was
autoire also of hys warre wyth the Ro-
mayns, and now was repayred unto him
which he thought wold tourne to his vn-
doinge. Pruſias, wyllynge to gratifye
the Romaines: deuyſed, either to ſee him
or els to take and delyuer hym to Flami-
nius. Wherbypon incontinente the ſer-
uautes of the kyng, and alſo of Flami-
nius, beſet the house of Anniball rounde
about, ſo that he could no way iſſue oute.
Anniball, forſeſinge the hatred that the
Romains bare hym, and the ſmal faythe
of þynges: ſpecially the lyghtnes of Pru-
ſias: He therfore, thinkinge to haue ſome
waye to flie daunger, if neade requyred,
hadde deuyſed, viii. wayes and entrees in-

The warres betwene the
to his house. Wherof certayne were very
secrete and priuie. But the number was
so greate of men of armes, whiche were
about his house and the watch so straight
ly kept by the kynges commaundement,
that where so euer he offered to issue, he
ke espide embusshements of harneysedme.
When seynge his tyme of death to draue
nere, he called for poyson, whiche he
long time had kepte with him, and had e-
uer redie for such chaunces, and sayde:
Nowe wyll I delyuer the Romaynes of
greate thought, that they haue long time
taken, to bryng me to confusyon. For al-
thoughe I be nowe olde, yet they thinke
it longe before I dye. But of this deatbe,
bothe they and Flaminyus they legate
shal haue smal victory. The blanring the
detestable fasshed of Prussas, that so cru-
elly wold suffer the murther of his friend
Inbome he had receyued into his kepyng;
He drunke the impoysoned drynke, and
sone after dyed.

This was the lamentable ende of the
right wyse, noble, and valtaunt capitaine
Hanniball, in a straunge region, eryled &
banished from his owne native countrey
Aboute whiche tyme or not longer be-
fore,

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 292
fore, the worthy Romaine Scipio Africa
also dyed: whom the Romayns, after his
manifolde benefites to them shewed, re-
compenced wþt detestable ingratitude,
certayne of the city being his enemies (as
no man in autorite can escape enuye)
charged hym wþt þ old matier, betwene
Plemintus and the Locrenses. Whererin
(they sayde) he beinge consul was corrup-
ted with money. And therefore ministred
not iustice. Againe they laide against him
the delyvery of his sonne, being prysoner
with Antiochus, wþt hout ransome:
whiche they thoughte was verye suspecty-
ous. For these small causes was he cal-
led before the Senate, & as though he had
ben a meane person, put to answeare with
extremitye: without fauoure, or hauynge
anye respecte to hys noble actes, done
for the commen weale. Whiche ingraty-
tude he toke so displesantlye, that depar-
ting out of the court, he wet into the coun-
treye, to the towne of Lytarne, where he
dwelled as long as he lyued, exilinge him
selfe from Rome for euer. And at hys
death, he commaunded his body to be bu-
ried there also: that his bones myghte not
rest in his vnkinde countrey.

Thus

The warres betwene the
Thus were. ii. of the worthiest cities of
the worlde founde vnknde to their noble
rulers and capitaynes, and bothe aboute
one time. Carthage banished Anniball,
after that he was vanquished. Rome
exiled Scipio, that had vanquished
all her ennemis. Wherin she
was of the twane more to
be blamed of ingrati-
tude.

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